

'Why Vietnam when there is a Salinas'

8,000 CHICANOS
KILLED IN VIETNAM
¡YA BASTA!



**PEOPLE'S
WORLD**

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Earlier Chicano Moratorium in San Francisco.

La Lucha del Pueblo Mexicano Es La Lucha de Todos Los Pueblos del Mundo

Este periodico que a travez de los últimos 32 años ha venido luchando por es establecimiento de la paz mundial y por la justicia social para todos los pueblos de la tierra, siente gran regocijo y se solidariza fraternalmente con el Pueblo Mexicano de Los Angeles en esta ocasion historica en que miles de compatriotas y amigos de todas partes de la nacion participan en esta gran marcha de protesta contro la guerra de Vietnam.

Ofrecemos nuestro maximo apoyo por el exito de estos grandes esfuerzos que dia a dia señalan la trayectoria que el Pueblo Mexicano debe trazar en pro de su propio destino.

La meta par la manifestacion del 29 de agosto

ha sido bien calculada por sus organizadores, pues crea un profundo cambio en la situacion del pueblo Mexicano y Latino Americano, La Raza en general, que radica dentro de los lindes politicos de los Estados Unidos de Norte America.

LA PAZ

El objetivo primordial de la manifestacion es el fin de la guerra de Vietnam. Esta guerra, conducida por al imperialismo Yanqui con sus inmenso poderio militar contra un pueblo humilde pero valiente con el solo fin de perpetuar sobre el un gobierno pro Yanqui de lo mas represivo, nos hace recordar a nosotros los Mexicanos las injustas invasiones a territorio Mexicano por el mismo en-

emigo, el imperialismo Yanqui.

El bombardeo y toma de Veracruz por la escuad Yanqui y sus infantes de marin, la invasion punitiva contra Villa y otros muchos atentados contra el gobierno debil que ha sido el de Mexico.

Muchos de esos atentados fueron rechazados pero mucho de ellos dejaron lacras historicas que no se borrarán. Tales como las que dejaron la invasion que terminara con la guerra 1848 en la cual sin justificacion y la fuerza se nos arrebatara tres quintas partes de suelo patrio.

Territorio que todavia ocupan por la fuerza pero sin que logren someternos incondicionalmente a sus

(Continued on back page)

Reagan slaps the poor & the people slap back

By STEPHANIE ALLAN

SAN FRANCISCO — As California's Governor Ronald Reagan began his campaign for reelection, hundreds of the state's hungry, poor and women continued their bitter struggle with his administration for food, day care and money.

The fight of welfare recipients and working mothers against the Reagan-Nixon axis has been going on for some time, but the last few weeks in this area have seen some of the sharpest confrontations.

The California Welfare Rights Organization and dozens of ad hoc groups have filed lawsuits, demonstrated, confronted legislators and petitioned to not only stop the gutting of welfare programs, but expand them to meet the needs of the hundreds of thousands whose interests they represent.

One of the most dramatic of the actions came Aug. 18 when hundreds of people, mostly Chicanos, met at a government food warehouse in Oakland.

The groups, organized by the

Alameda County Food Coalition, an ad hoc community group, demanded the warehouse be opened, and the surpluses be distributed to the hungry.

The demonstrators want the Alameda County Board of Supervisors to declare the county a disaster area because of the unemployment rate and release surplus food.

There are 15,000 unemployed in the county and the Spanish Speaking Community Action Center estimates the jobless rate in the black and brown communities in the county at 66% between the ages of 18 and 35.

In another dramatic action working mothers from 13 San Francisco day care centers went to Sacramento last week to demand guarantees their centers not be closed, forcing them back on welfare.

Finally, able to get a large enough room to accomodate the 125 of them, the women put their case on the line.

By order of SDSW director Robert Martin the schools were

(Continued on back page)

Teamsters: Work with Salinas growers?

SALINAS — There's one slogan heard repeatedly on picket lines here this week. It went: "Why go to Vietnam when you can go to Salinas?"

The chant was, of course, symbolism. No one was killed. But, the message was clear. The lettuce paddies here had become a violent battleground. And, once again, the colored peasants were facing gun brandishing agents of the wealthy.

The violence got heavy here this week, the first of the dramatic farm worker's strike in the vegetable fields. An attorney was brutally assaulted, union organizers were attacked, a reporter had his notebook and film confiscated and a company foreman assaulted two striker's cars with his bulldozer.

The trouble was not to be unexpected. This is a rough, grower dominated area where the racism and anti-Chicano feeling is right out front. But what was not expected and what is still an unanswered question is why were there persistent reports of Teamster Union members par-

ticipating in the attacks on the farm strikers.

Supposedly an agreement had been reached earlier this month in which it was agreed that the Teamsters would not interfere with the organization of the area by the farm workers union.

But whether or not others kept their word and despite the violence, the strike continued undeterred since the dramatic rally last Sunday when the call went out across the valley: "Huelga en general!"

The ringing call sounded as more than 12,000 farm workers

took their bright red and black banners onto picket lines outside an estimated 35 big ranches and 62 smaller ones.

The often-delayed strike finally hit at 4:30 a.m. Monday (Aug. 24) in a drive to obtain recognition and contracts for the AFL-CIO United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.

UFWOC had held off strike action in an attempt to allow the Catholic Bishops Committee on Farm Labor to help settle the fight between the union on one side and a grower-Teamsters un-

(Continued on back page)

Moratoriums-La Raza ignite the Southwest

LOS ANGELES — The Natl. Chicano Moratorium here Saturday is more than the largest Chicano sponsored anti-war action ever held in this country.

It is the climax of more than 16 anti-war demonstrations occurring throughout the country in past months, most of them in the Southwest.

Also it is a beginning. It is the beginning of two new Chicano crusades — against police repression throughout the barrios and for building La Raza Unida, a new Chicano political movement.

The demonstration at which about 2,000 are expected from

(Continued on Page 7)

Postal union nix no-strike law

By SAM KUSHNER

LOS ANGELES — The aftermath of the first postal strike in U. S. history last March were very much on the minds of 1,500 delegates at the biennial convention of United Federation of Postal Clerks, AFL-CIO, concluded last Saturday.

One of the high points of the six day convention was enactment of two "paramount issues" by the convention.

The delegates declared their top legislative demand was "enactment of legislation to repeal the no-strike law, and any other such laws which prevent, or in any way compromise the rights of all postal workers."

Topping the union's negotiating demands with the newly established U. S. Postal Service is "granting amnesty to all postal employees participating in the work stoppage of March, 1970."

While the strike in March was sparked by the letter carriers, UFPC delegates and officers took pride in the fact that virtually half of those participating in the walkout which effectively crippled the postal service were clerks.

The largest convention in the history of the union also had as its rallying cry, unity of all pos-

tal workers into one single union, or postal union federation.

UFPC claims that it is the largest of the nine unions among post office employees, encompassing some 180,000 members.

Among the demands put forth by the UFPC delegates was the 32 hour work week. It also demanded repeal of the postal service section affecting possible union shop agreements and demanded that this become a negotiable issue with the postal service rather than one governed by law.

Delegates also called for "seniority protection" with the elimination of promotion to the "best qualified," and in addition, the convention demanded "a system of punitive action against management for any contract violation."

Only after UFPC president Francis S. Filbey reassured the delegates several times that the leadership would take necessary action, including that of calling a strike, to protect the membership, did a large group of delegates cease its attempts to make this an official convention action.

Many of the incumbent officers were challenged by candidates who were backed by a

"Committee for Effective Leadership."

Included among the candidates this committee supported were some of the most active strike leaders in the March walkout.

Filbey won out over John R. Napurano for the union presidency by a 1,576 to 580 vote. Napurano was backed by the Committee for Effective Leadership.

Ted Valliere, running as an independent, beat out the incumbent director of research and education, William E. Price. Included among the vice presidents, who are elected by regions, were a number of newcomers. Tom McDonald, endorsed by the Committee for Effective Leadership, easily won out over the incumbent, Sidney D. Lindeberg, 100 to 65.

Another incumbent vice president who failed to win reelection was J. B. Ferguson of the Memphis region. He lost out to James W. Walter, who ran as an independent.

One supporter of the Filbey administration expressed the view that many of the incumbents might have gone down to defeat had not Congress recently voted the eight percent wage increase for postal workers.

This rise coming on top of the six percent increase following the March strike brought the yearly increase to 14%.

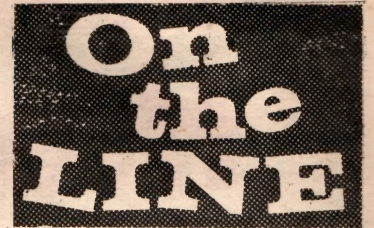
While the delegates were not ready to change officers at this convention neither would they vote them a 14% raise in salary. This was turned down by the delegates and when it became clear that they would also reject the proposal to raise all officers' salaries by \$1,000 the proposal was withdrawn.

After rejecting a per capita increase from \$1.50 to \$2.00 in a roll call vote the delegates did agree to a \$1.70 per capita payment to UFPC.

Delegates appeared to be in agreement with Filbey's comment to the convention that "some method must be found to eliminate the divisions between postal unions."

The convention, Filbey said, opened "on the threshold of a new day in the postal service but only time will tell whether that day will be bright or dark."

In large measure this reflected the convention's need. The delegates were anxious through unity talks and strike preparations to prepare for the possible dark day.



A SPECTRE is stalking United Auto Worker negotiators at General Motors, Ford and Chrysler; a squat, ostrich-like robot with an arm like a claw and a small computer brain. By 1973 some 5,000 of these robots will be in use, mostly in assembling cars. It can do up to two and one half times the work of an ordinary worker in car spraying, spot welding, feeding presses, transferring parts and doing assorted grinding, reaming and polishing operations.

GM has just ordered 70 of these robots for its plants in Ohio, and when installed, they will be capable of producing 100 cars a day, more than two thirds more than any plant presently in production.

They work cheaply, too. A robot can be leased for anywhere from \$1.25 to \$2.70 an hour, including all maintenance costs. Plus they don't protest speedup, succumb to heat exhaustion or strike. 1984 is just around the corner.

FRUSTRATION and militancy is on the rise among rank and files in the craft unions, and the bosses are not the only ones upset about it.

John J. Pilch, president of the Intl. Typographical Union, AFL-CIO, warned delegates to the 119th convention of the ITU at Buffalo that an "incipient rebellion" against ITU laws and policies is undermining the integrity and financial security of the union. He said he was referring to such actions as respect for picket lines of other unions while local ITU contracts were still in effect.

Delegates then voted 250 to 69 to deny benefits to members of an ITU local in Erie, Pa., who observed the picket lines of the Newspaper Guild at the Times-News last year.

"Respect for picket lines is a solemn obligation," said Pilch.

Meanwhile, the ITU's strike against the Independent Journal entered its eighth month, and its legal defense committee needs money and solidarity.

Make your checks PAYABLE to: Legal Defense Committee, Typographical Union 21, and MAIL to ITU No. 21, 26 Third street, San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Nil Basti Carborandum.

WATTS unemployment stood at 10.2% in 1965, the time of the uprising that rocked this country back on its heels.

After the smoke had cleared from those desperate summer days, there was a great outcry about the conditions that lay at the roots of the revolt. The high unemployment rate was cited as a major cause. Well, at the end of 1969 the unemployment rate had risen to 16.2%. No more water, but fire next time.

THE DEPT. of Labor last week heralded the fact that the purchasing power of workers had risen "moderately" during July. It was only partly true.

The Dept.'s figures reveal gains were made by everybody except the men and women in mining and manufacturing. The purchasing power of industrial and mine workers declined between July 1 and Aug. 1.

—RINGO

Racism, speedup explodes in death

By WILLIAM ALLAN

DETROIT— A Chrysler worker, member of the United Auto Workers Union, sits in the county jail here, awaiting trial for "murder."

On July 15, James Johnson, Jr. shot to death two Chrysler foremen and one job setter in the company's Eldon road gear and axle plant here.

Johnson was a conveyor loader in Dept. 78, the brake hoe department, employed there for the past three years. In that department conditions are bad.

There is an inch and a half of oil covering the floor many times, coming up to the soles of the shoes of workers.

In these hot days, July and August, with shop temperatures of 120 degrees inside, the entire ventilation system many times is inoperative. The jitney trucks have no brakes, lop sided tires, no horns and no lights. The aisle ways are blocked with boxes, axles and scrap iron. Drill presses, cutters and grinders do not have safety guards.

For the last six months the oppressive conditions in this shop of Chrysler, where 6,000 work, mostly blacks, have worsened.

Layoffs increased while the speedup on production remained.

Matters are tense. Some time ago a white foreman, Irvin Ashlock, threatened to bash black brother John Scott on the head with a pinion gear. Scott was discharged.

A strike took place that ended with the company firing 14 workers — all union representatives. The workers struck again and got their people back to work.

No union stewards, however, were reinstated until about mid-May, which meant that the workers were forced to work without any union representation.

It was a rough time for the workers. During this period two black workers died, because of conditions. Sister Mamie Williams died in the hospital after being forced back to work by orders of a Chrysler Corp. phy-



sician, contrary to the orders of her own doctor, who ordered her to bed.

Another worker, Gary Thompson, a 22 year old Vietnam war veteran, was crushed to death under a two ton skid box which fell off his faulty jitney truck.

Workers continue to be penalized for not making production, union shop stewards are fired, grievances pile up.

These are the precise and particular conditions under which black UAW member James Johnson worked in his last six months at Chrysler Eldon road gear and axle plant.

Johnson worked in the brake shoe department, in which a new conveyor belt was installed. It ran at such a rate that it threw brake shoes all over the floor, causing extra work for Johnson, who loaded the conveyor on the afternoon shift.

This department was one of those where the union steward had been fired for participating in a rank and file strike action. For many weeks the workers had no union protection.

In the early part of May Johnson was involved in an auto accident, which resulted in the complete destruction of his car and put him under a doctor's care.

But the Chrysler doctors ordered him back to work or face

discharge, despite his own doctor's protests.

Johnson had two weeks vacation coming — he took them — then returned to work, but was discharged without reason and his vacation pay was held up. The union got him back to work, but management started wholesale riding of this worker.

Foremen rode him mercilessly. On Wednesday evening, July 15, as part of this campaign to get him to quit or do something that the foreman could fire him for, he was taken off his job as brake loader and replaced by a worker with two weeks seniority (remember, Johnson had three years seniority).

He was then placed on the brake ovens, placing brake shoes in bake ovens, which bake the coating on the brake shoes.

The entire operation is done in 120 degree heat. It was at this point Johnson protested.

He pointed out that the job was a bad job, he took a pay cut, while someone with less seniority took his job and got his former rate. He was suspended for "insubordination."

Management had reached their goal of getting Johnson to protest. They now could fire him. He was actually escorted out of the shop by armed company guards.

He went home, came back with a .30 caliber carbine in a desperate search for his tormentors.

He searched for his general foreman, Jim Rhoades. He asked his fellow workers to stand back for he was not going to hurt them.

In pursuit of Rhoades he encountered his foreman, Hugh Jones; a foreman in an adjacent department, Gary Hinz; and Joseph Kowalski, a job setter who tried to disarm him. He killed them all, threw down the gun and walked back to the guard where he was apprehended by Detroit cops.

A jury of black and white workers in Detroit's criminal courts will try him in a month. His attorneys told this reporter, "This is a political trial, of a system that can drive a worker to such a point in his fight against oppression and inhuman working conditions inside a plant of the auto industry. It's not James Johnson that is on trial, it is the system that creates such terrible conditions that a worker lashes out."

He is being defended by black militant attorney, Kenneth Cockrel. The court room will be packed every day with Johnson's fellow workers after shift and before they go on shift.

'Young Workers' call 'work-or-wages' rally

SAN FRANCISCO — With the slogan "Work or Wages Now," members of the Young Workers Liberation League in the Bay Area have launched a campaign for jobs scheduled to culminate Labor Day in a downtown rally.

The league, a new socialist youth organization founded in Chicago in March, plans to make the problems of unemployed and underemployed young people the central thrust of its activities during the coming months.

It will do so in conjunction with other YWLL units along

the entire Pacific Coast.

Joe Harris, a San Francisco league official, said this week, "For years now the unemployment rate among young people has been a serious one. But now with the situation getting even worse, young people are ready to do something about it."

"Our demonstration will only be the beginning of what we are certain will be a huge and angry movement which if Mayor Alioto, Governor Reagan and President Nixon don't heed now, they'll heed later on — if there's time."

The rally is scheduled for South Park (between Second and Third streets, and Brannan and Bryant streets) at 1 p. m., Monday, Sept. 7.

Featured speakers include: Ramon Pena, a representative of La Raza Unida; Enola Maxwell, lay preacher at Olivet Presbyterian Church; Moise Palladino, a member of the Welfare Rights Organization and Harris.

Along with announced free refreshments, music will be provided by guitarist and singer

Jon Fromer, and an Afro-Cuban group.

Demands being put forward by the Labor Day rally include:

- Work or wages now;
- \$100 a week minimum unemployment benefits with no time limit on eligibility;
- A welfare payment minimum of \$5,500 a year for a family of four;
- Unemployment benefits for first time job seekers.

In another action this week, the league launched a petition campaign against the new state regulation which provides for unemployment compensation payments every two weeks rather than every week. The petition which was circulated around unemployment offices beginning Monday reads:

"To the office of Human Resources Development (unemployment office) and to Governor Reagan:

"We cannot make it for two weeks in between unemployment checks. Since unemployment compensation is a right, we demand our weekly checks, starting this week."



CANNONBALL ADDERLEY will be featured on his alto sax with the Oakland Youth Chamber Orchestra at the Monterey Jazz Festival Sept. 18, 19, 20. Among the other artists besides the Adderley Quintet will be the Gabor Szabo Sextet, Bill Evans Trio, Modern Jazz Quartet and Duke Ellington, Woody Herman, and many more. The sensational annual festival is held at the Monterey County Fairgrounds. For tickets, write the Festival at P. O. Box JAZZ, Monterey, Calif., or phone (408) 373-3366.

Demonstration to demand food

SAN FRANCISCO — There will be a demonstration Tuesday, Sept. 1, at the Alameda county board of supervisors. The demonstration will demand that the county be declared a disaster area and that federal surplus food warehouses be opened. It begins at noon. The address is 1221 Oak street, Oakland.

What's happening

Concord's second music festival

CONCORD — The final weekend of the Concord Summer Festival will take place Aug. 28, 29 and 30.

Friday's program will include the Modern Jazz Quartet, Laurindo Almeida, Don Ellis band and Xoregos Dance Co.

Saturday will feature the Buddy Rich band, Erroll Garner and the Remoros. Friday and Saturday performances start at 8 p.m.

The Sunday program starts at 7:30 p. m. and will highlight the Charlie Byrd Trio. Byrd is one of the country's leading guitarists, who is equally at home with jazz or classical music. He has studied with the great classicalist, Andres Segovia.

Other performers on the final evening will include the Jorge Morel Duo, Oscar Peterson Trio and the Les Brown Band of Renown.

Site of the festival is Concord Boulevard Park, near Concord High School, Concord, Calif., in a huge outdoor grassy bowl.

Tickets are on sale at many commercial box offices, or phone (415) 682-6770. Seats are \$5 and \$6; general admission seating on the grass is \$3.50; students under 18, \$2.50.

Folklorico honors Bufano's memory

SAN FRANCISCO — The entire seven performance run of the Ballet Folklorico de Mexico will be dedicated to the memory of the late San Francisco artist and sculptor, Benny Bufano.

Announcement of the dedication was made by impresario John Kornfeld, who was a close personal friend of Bufano's.

Along with the dedication will be a special display of Bufano's works in the lobby of Masonic auditorium where the dancers

are appearing through Aug. 30.

Many pieces of the artist's sculptures and lithographs are being lent by private collectors and galleries. The display is a rare chance to see much of Bufano's work.

"Say 'Uncle' Sam" plays in San Jose

SAN FRANCISCO — "Two Acts for the People" will be shown as a benefit for the Soledad Brothers, Los Siete and Bobby Seale. These will be "Teatro Urbano" and "Say 'Uncle' Sam," the latter written by Lester Cole.

They will be shown at San Jose's Montgomery Theater (San Jose, Market and San Carlos streets) on Sept. 11 and 12 at 8 p. m. Tickets are \$2.

Sponsoring organizations are Santa Clarans Against Nazism, United People Arriba and Committee to Defend Political Freedoms.

Advance tickets may be obtained from the San Jose Peace Center, Kaleidoscope Book Store and Kepler's Book Stores.



Power to the People

Sausalito annual arts festival

SAUSALITO — A major Bay Area event, the Sausalito Arts Festival, will be held the Labor Day weekend of Sept. 5, 6 and 7.

This year's theme is "Festival of the Sun" and is produced by Garden of Delights, famed Sausalito based production company.

The events will be held in and around the Sausalito Art Center and will include a variety of arts and crafts demonstrations and exhibits. Also included are circus events and "environment" events.

Some of the workshop demonstrations include glassblowing, stained glass, silkscreen printing, light shows, ceramics and various children's workshops.

A wide spectrum of folk music and theater programs will run continually, day and evening. Also special evening shows. Admission is \$1.

New classes in 'natural dancing'

SAN FRANCISCO — The San Francisco Dancers' Workshop is offering a new series of classes at their studio, 321 Divisadero street in San Francisco, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings, beginning Sept. 14.

These classes will focus on the return to a natural basis for movement, according to the teachers. "We will use the techniques of organic body movement, drumming, and improvisation to externalize the vital feelings common to people of all races and backgrounds. Based on our work together, we will create rituals, fantasies, ceremonies and games."

For further information call 626-0414.

La Raza campaign out for new voters

SAN FRANCISCO — A voter registration drive specifically for the Spanish speaking is now under way in San Francisco. A confederation of Latino civic groups and the Mission Coalition Organization will direct a house to house campaign.

Calling itself "La Raza Registration Project," the confederation is headed by John Ramirez. He is local president of the Mexican American Political Assn.

Other participating organizations are: American GI Forum, Latin Americans Incorporated for Community Advancement, League of United Latin American Citizens, and other nationality groups.

An estimated 100,000 Spanish speaking people reside in San Francisco, mostly in the Mission district.

The drive for registration marks the first such effort made in behalf of Latinos, many of whom are new citizens from Central and South America.

The non-partisan campaign will emphasize use of bilingual deputy registrars and Spanish language publicity. Coordinator of the drive initially will be Reginald Montes, a community activist in civil liberties.

Offices have been established at the headquarters of the Committee on Political Education (COPE), 3068 16th street, during the day and at a storefront office, 2485 Mission street, during the evening.

Information can be obtained from phone 863-7011, 9 a.m. to 5 p. m., or 648-8485 in the evening.

Deadline for voter registration is Sept. 10.

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Minuscule School

SAN FRANCISCO — "The Minuscule" is a new school opening in San Francisco in September for 9-11 year olds.

It is based on the idea that learning and living are one process.

The four teachers — Alice Green, Robert Meadows, Elizabeth Freedman and Joanne Henjum — are critical of the way public schools discourage creativity. "Public schools are more involved in enforcing obedience and in fostering competition for grades than they are in actual education," they claim.

They will experiment with ways to share authority among teachers, parents and children.

Children may choose from the academic offerings and a variety of crafts and arts—from computers to carpentry — or may invent their own projects.

A fully legal alternative to the public schools, The Minuscule opens the second week of September. Call 826-6745 for information.

Editorial

This huelga—short and sweet

The farm worker struggle in the Salinas Valley should be short and sweet and it can be if everybody who's concerned get their knowledge together and start immediately to do what has to be done to produce an early settlement.

It took five years to bring the farm workers union into the grape fields and that was much too long. Few people know of the suffering, the hardships that thousands of people had to go through to produce that victory. Few know of the money wasted by the growers in a desperate attempt to stave off the inevitable or the energy expended by strike supporters all over the world, effort that could have gone into other struggles such as peace or against environmental polluters.

The people of Delano should not have had to go through those five years and the men and women in the fields of Salinas should be spared a similar trip.

In the end the labor movement in the state of California played not a small part in making possible the victory of the huelga in the grape fields. But one could hardly say it was the same with all unions nor that it was not accomplished in some only after considerable effort.

Many developed complex rationales for inaction, including the classic dodge of saying it wasn't a legitimate strike, that there weren't real pickets on real picket lines. Well, that excuse won't go this time, and nobody's got no place asking the farm workers union to demonstrate its support.

There are 12,000 people on strike in the Salinas area. Few unions in this state have had strikes that large in recent years, and even fewer have had so many people walk off the job in such a small geographical area.

By all the traditions of trade unionism in this country, in honor of all those who have fallen to make the picket line the

instrument it is today — what guarantees the bread and butter on our family tables each day — the people of Salinas deserve the unflinching, unreserved and undelayed support of all other working men and women in California, especially in the organized unions.

There will, no doubt, be fools who will try and contend there is some kind of jurisdictional issue involved in Salinas. They will play the greedy growers' game and point out that the employers have agreed to deal with a union — the Teamsters. That won't go, either.

One of the cardinal principles of trade unionism is democracy, that simple little concept that you let the workers involved decide such things as who is going to represent them. The whole episode of the Teamsters in Salinas is not exactly a bright page in California labor history and ought to be overshadowed as soon as possible.

Although the unions in the state can be the determination of how soon and at what cost the struggle in Salinas is successfully resolved, the responsibility for seeing this one through rests on all people who believe in justice and fair play.

We'd without grapes for five years and if asked, we can do without lettuce or artichokes forever if necessary. We aided in the effort to see that food and clothing got to the field strikers and we can do it again.

The struggle in Salinas is a struggle of all working people. To a large extent it determines to what extent the giant conglomerates who own the land, and the big banks can run roughshod over our lives, despoil our environment, dominate the state's politics and maintain 19th century conditions in one of the state's largest industries. The stakes are big. The efforts should be even bigger.



Struggle from home

I'd just like to say that getting the PW here is one of the most rewarding things that I can look forward to every week.

Your paper, which in its articles and its tremendous fighting spirit, really reflects the movement which is erupting in the U. S. and on the West Coast in particular. It is of great value to me, far as I am from "home" (Canada).

In your pages I can catch a little of the spirit and enthusiasm of the struggles of the people, and that's important to someone who is and has been away from that type of struggle of the people, into which he was born and bred.

I'd like to thank you and your staff, and, most of all, the people whose movements and struggles you all take part in and describe so well, for that special bit of inspiration that I get every Wednesday morning when the PW arrives in my mailbox. More success to you and the movement.

Fraternally in struggle.

—MARK SYDNEY
Budapest, Hungary

Shorter work week

Reporting the workers' news is right, but don't leave out economic leadership. Every issue

should demand "shorten the work period." Unemployment for millions while others work full time is not democracy.

Perlo's writing is excellent. We must know of the robbery in high places and be armed with the source of reference, page and paragraph when we quote our facts. Capitalism has lasted since 1929 by plugging the government, the capital structure and the people further and further into debt, and in the wasteful misuse of our natural resources.

Remember, inflation is caused by capital grabbing too much of our gross national product and the great mass of people getting too little — with the people paying the whole bill.

So, shorten the work period and give to all the workers a wage with which they can buy an American standard of living in the market place. Expose and stop corporate swindlers and we can have an economic prosperity above anything we have ever dreamed of.

Capitalism has nothing to offer millions of people but bloodshed and poverty.

—Robert Stephens, Seattle

Pass This Paper On
To A Friend

Good & welfare

Community control

SAN FRANCISCO

A MEASURE which has been termed by one establishment newspaper as "a unique approach to chaotic disorganization" and a "catastrophic measure" has qualified for a spot on the ballot in upcoming elections in Berkeley, California.

Despite the hysterical adjectives being thrown around by its critics, the qualification of the community control of police measure is an achievement of great importance for everyone.

It's not immediately clear why the San Francisco Chronicle editors choose these particular adjectives with which to denounce the proposal. Their Aug. 18 editorial on the subject has no substance. It's not at all clear what they find so wrong with the measure.

But beware when the bourgeoisie begins to rant about "chaotic disorganization." It means they see some threat to their precious system of "order." They begin to tremble at the thought that the functions of government might become decentralized and move closer to the people.

The closer such functions get to the neighborhoods and smaller community units, the less able the rich and powerful are able to control them for their further enrichment and repression of dissent and protest. Their order is the key to control and that control is what they refuse to relinquish.

But people ought to know and understand that there is nothing particularly holy or virtuous about this particular order we live under.

Indeed, in much of the world people are living under vastly superior and more humane systems.

THE MEDIA will try to picture such things as the community control of police proposal as something resembling anarchy. When their order is threatened, the bourgeoisie always conjures up the image of anarchy or chaotic disorganization.

The fact is that in many advanced nations of the world, socialist countries like the Soviet Union and Cuba, the idea that the police functions belongs closer to the people is simply part of the way things are done.

Police usually do live in the neighborhood. They are responsive to community organizations which exists in buildings or on blocks, cooperatives or communal farms. In the case of both countries even the courts have been decentralized and the people who sit as peers in judgment by accused law offenders are people right out of the neighborhood who have been elected by the people in the community.

Giving the people in different communities the major say in such things as policing, trying, administering health care and running the schools — while limiting the power of those who sit in their marble palaces downtown and run our lives — are not preludes to anarchy.

THE CHRONICLE is right in seeing a threat to the current order but ending it will not necessarily produce disorder, only a just and more humane way of doing things.

That's what Thomas Jefferson and those friends of his tried to tell King George.

—CARL BLOICE

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Petaluma

Under Good and Welfare in the People's World Aug. 1st the heading quote, "Out of a dead end a glimmer of peace" is not only out of line with the present day development in the Middle East, but detrimental to the interests of peace.

We shall not dwell upon the cause of the '67 war. Though, the editor and a great number in the camp of the left consider it progressive to be against Israel and pro the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

To serve their contention they twist and interpret facts which lead into a blind alley. The writer of "Good & Welfare" is guilty of such an approach.

The first paragraph of the above "Good & Welfare" is a good illustration. Quote, "Why, just a month after the Nixon administration sent out warnings of nuclear war over the Middle East, do we see the first real hope for peace in the area since the June '67 war?" end of quote.

Why, we would like to ask? Is it because Egypt got scared or maybe the Soviet Union got scared over the waving of atomic weapons in the Middle East by the Nixon administration. That is the implication in your statement.

The impact of the Middle East situation in the last several weeks could have led to such a confrontation. Both major nuclear powers were conscious of such a confrontation. The entire world is conscious. Anyone threatening to use atomic warfare should be condemned outright.

To convey the impression that the USSR took heed to such a warning is to negate the entire role the Soviet Union played all along in the creation of the state of Israel and is still playing to safeguard it.

But the point at issue is the article and the next to the last paragraph. The issue of the cease fire.

Quote, "Any insistence on her

part (that is on the part of Israel) on a check to the activities of the guerrillas as a condition of the cease fire will be a cynical attempt to sabotage the peace effort," unquote.

No, our dear editor. The most complicated and dangerous Middle East situation must be settled politically and not militarily. The truce and the cease fire must be accepted by all involved. It must be resolved by recognizing Israel as a state to live peacefully within its recognized borders. The Palestinian Arabs must recognize the legitimacy of Israel as a Jewish, non-racist, non-exclusive state with equal rights for the Arab minority.

Israel to support the legitimate aspirations to self determination in a Palestinian Arab state as in the 1947 resolution of the United Nations along with the resolutions of the security council of '67. The UN resolution of 1947 was to create two states; one Jewish and one Arabic. This resolution is based on justice and peace and was legitimized by the world organization.

The encouragement of the editorial writer of the PW for the guerrilla forces to continue fighting during the most sensitive truce period and not to mention a word about Syria, Iraq and Algeria, is to give blessings of encouragement against this truce, is the greatest disservice to peace and to all the parties concerned.

Bernard Fields
Joe Rapoport
Joe Greenspan
Mephtula Stein

For the Petaluma Jewish Cultural Club.

The People's World has never indicated support for the political program of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Nor can I recall an instance when an editorial statement has been so grossly misinterpreted as has been done by the signers of this letter. — Editor.

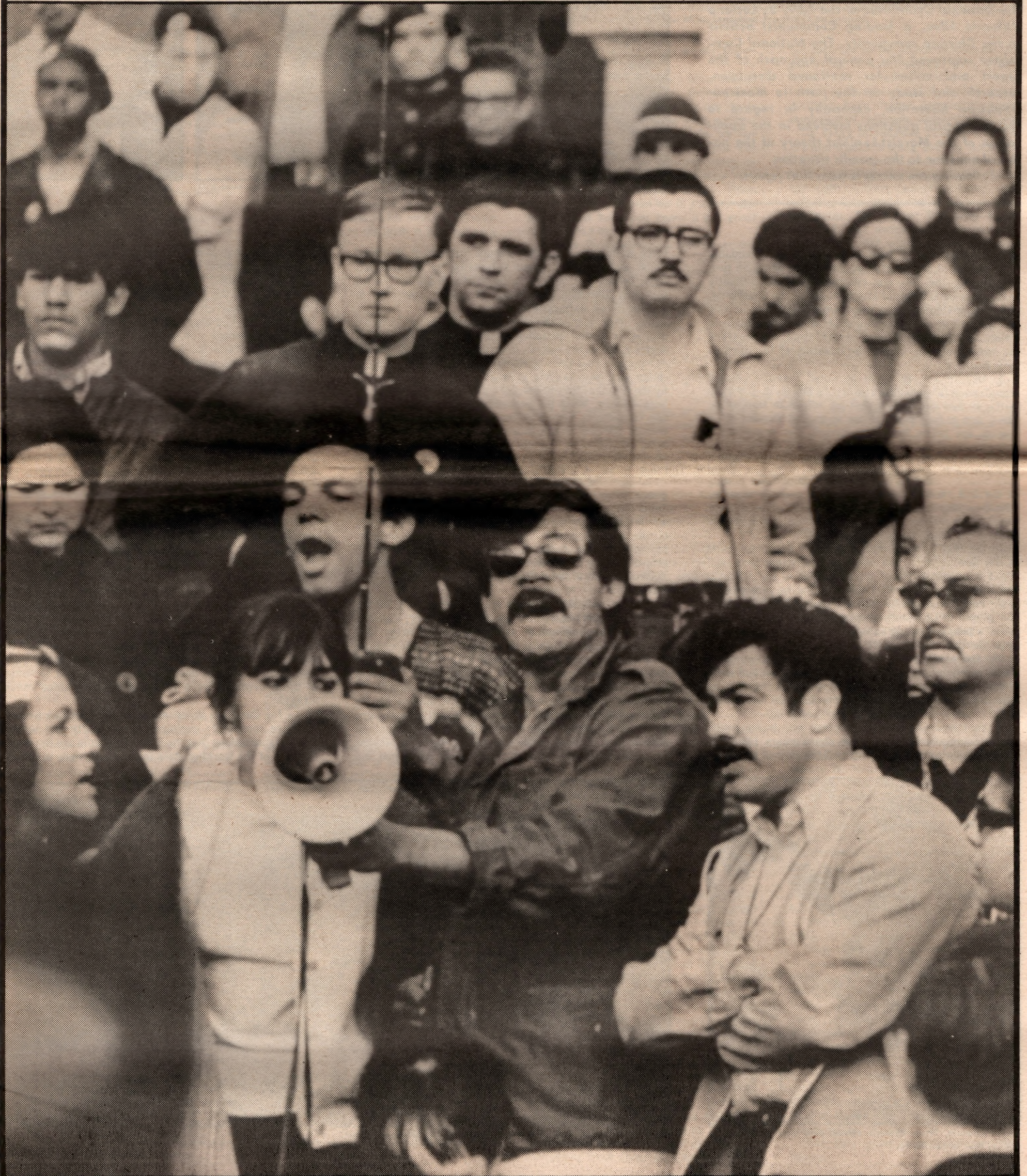
WORLD MAGAZINE

AUGUST 29, 1970



Toward Chicano Liberation

pages 2-3



Chicano Youth Liberation Conference delegates back farm labor legislation at a rally last year at the State Capitol at Denver. This photo, by Roberto Romero, shows "Corky" Gonzales in front, with arms folded.

Toward Chicano Liberation

As part of the on-going discussion in the Communist Party of the struggle for Chicano liberation and in preparation of a basic resolution on the subject, a report was delivered to the National Committee of the Party by Luciano Valencio Silva, a leading Communist activist in the Chicano community. The National Committee approved the general approach of the report and called for continued discussion, research and study on the path to Mexican-American liberation, especially in regard to the theoretical questions involved in the application of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the national question to the specific situation.

Following are excerpts from that report.

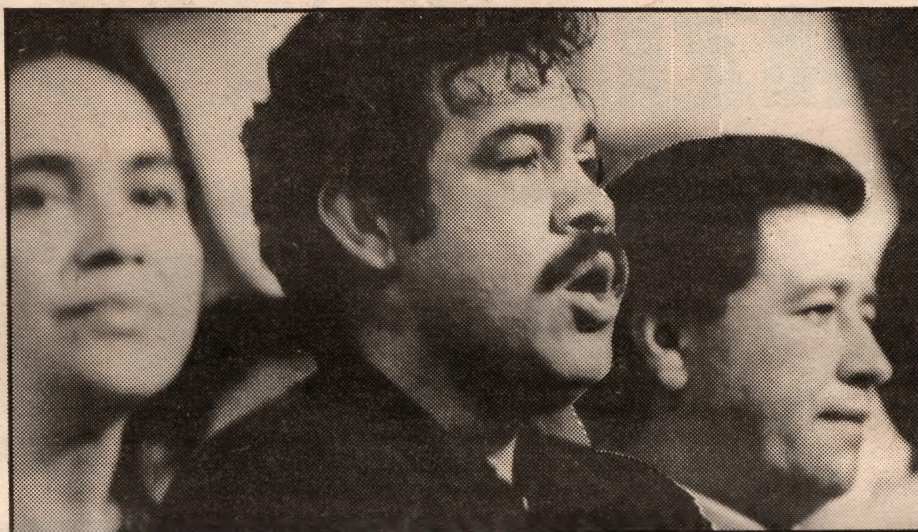
Our party has a long and largely commendable record of work with and among the Mexican people. During the '30s our comrades worked valiantly in the mines and fields of the West and of the Southwest, and participated creditably in the mining strikes in New Mexico and in the agricultural strikes in the Imperial Valley and throughout much of California. This marked the very beginning of the organization of the agricultural workers.

In this regard, it might be noted that the present organization of agricultural workers has its direct roots in the strikes and efforts that we helped to lead in the 1930s, and in fact many of the songs and slogans of La Huelga are taken from that period. Our organization participated also in the field of protection of the foreign born when the Mexican community was being expatriated from the United States. Well over a million American citizens, children and spouses of Mexicans residing in the U.S., were expelled from the country together with their Mexican parents, husbands and wives in order to get them off the relief rolls. This was in the middle of the great depression.

In the 1940's and in the early 1950's we participated in the developing urban community organizations and began a serious study of the character of the Mexican people in the Southwest. This study led us very clearly to the conclusion that the national character of the Mexican people in the Southwest is that of a national minority, a people seeking to establish its own clearly defined identity.

We also made it very clear that this national minority was created as a result of a military conquest and of an illegal occupation of the area. A national minority is maintained in the U.S. through borders that were militarily imposed and that are militarily maintained.

A vast force of Border Control and Immigration agents is required to keep out the workers from the Mexican side as well as to control the flow of the labor



Dolores Huerta, Rudolpho "Corky" Gonzales and Cesar Chavez

Larry Frank/Photon West



Reies Tijerina

Karl Kernberger

force within the U.S. This occurs throughout the West Coast and Southwest, and nationally, as the migrant labor forces have spread to the northern border states, including Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and even to such southern states as Florida.

As we developed the characterization of the Mexican people as a vast national minority we constructed a series of demands for the mass movement of the Mexican people. That these demands were based on a correct theory and on a correct characterization is attested to by the fact that they are still the demands of the Mexican people today. When the accommodationists in the Mexican community were building such groups as the Community Service Organization, League of United Latin American Citizens, and others, we developed the concept of the Mexican-American and we struggled within the mass movement for national identification. We also developed a struggle for the preservation of the language, for a pride in our history and our culture and for demands on the school structure to stop the systematic annihilation of the history, of the language, of the culture of the Mexican people. The struggle was translated successfully to the mass movement and it remains its property today. It can be seen in the manifesto of Aztlan, in the demands of the striking students and at many other levels.

We not only developed a correct evaluation of the Mexican people but we also are developing now, together with the mass movement, the consequent concept that a national minority must have the right to determine its own destiny. For us, national determination should mean that the forms and the methods must be found for the Mexican people to work out their own destiny.

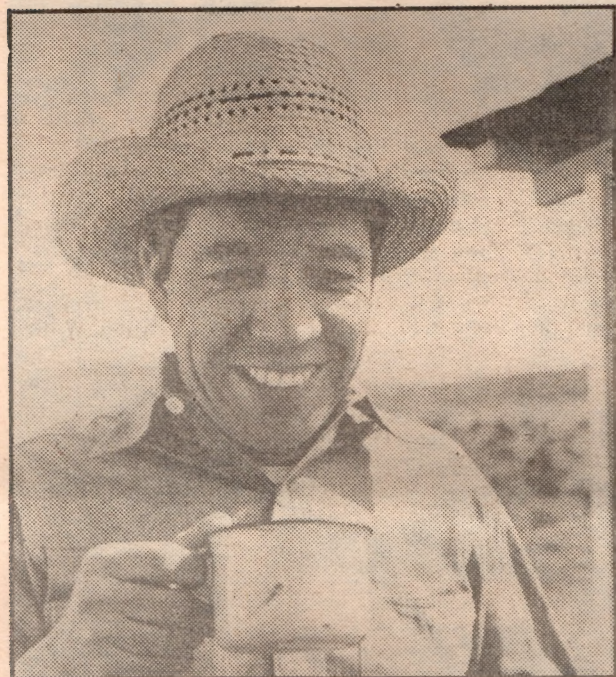
We not only developed theories and approaches to the Mexican people, but we involved ourselves and were instrumental in helping create the first national Mexican organization. This was the Asociacion Nacional Mexico Americano (ANMA), and through it we developed the

policies and programs that became a part of the content and of the direction of the Mexican peoples' efforts toward full equality.

ANMA was the first national organization that defined the national character of the Mexican people and developed the bi-culture concept of the Mexican-American. This concept was adopted by the national mass movement and was the descriptive term for the Mexican people in the U.S. until very recently. ANMA established viable organizations in California, New Mexico, Colorado and Texas. It illustrated that what had been said by the accommodationists about the diverse and heterogeneous character of the Mexican people and their varied identity would not and did not prevent the people from organizing in a national organization to find their own national identity. ANMA was crushed in a few years, the victim of the McCarthy period, of the McCarthyite labor fakers who were sent by the AFL-CIO deliberately to red bait and crush it, and a victim of our own mistakes in dealing with McCarthyism.

The demands that were put forth by ANMA and by our cadre in the various community organizations on the teaching of the history, of the language, of the culture, on a pride in our own identity, on housing and welfare became the advanced demands of the 50's. These demands, which are still largely unfulfilled, continue to be the main content of the struggle. The Mexican people have fought valiantly against the destruction of their heritage. The survival of this heritage of the Spanish language against this national attack is testimony to the strength and stability of the people. Only in the past few years has there been minimal concession to some of these demands as a result of unprecedented mass struggle.

As for the class composition of the Mexican people we have repeatedly explained to the party and to the mass organizations that the Mexican people are the main element of the working class in the Southwest, in South-



Juan Chacon, New Mexico miner and star of Mine, Mill's "Salt of the Earth."



Western migrants before the days of union organizing.

ern California, and in Southern Texas. They constitute an important factor in the working class in such urban centers as Chicago, Pittsburgh and Detroit. As such a factor in the working class they form an important and indispensable ingredient in forging a coalition against imperialism. But any approach to this important and indispensable element can never succeed unless we understand the national character of this component of a class.

The border is maintained only by the enforcement of the immigration laws of this country, which are the most vicious and the most contrary to the democratic traditions of this country of any set of laws which govern any phase of our lives. These laws permit arrest without warrant, search and seizure without authorization, detention and summary deportation. There is no statute of limitations against applicability of these laws, which makes the legal admission into the U.S. of people from Mexico almost impossible.

This creates a situation in which, on one side of the border the workers in Northern Mexico suffer from 37% to 50% unemployment, while by contrast, in the U.S. there is relatively full employment. The economic pressure thus created results in literally millions of "illegals," people without documents, coming into the U.S. to work to support their families. Once here they are especially exploited by the employers and used to prevent union organization. In one plant recently, when a union went into negotiations the employer picked up the phone and called the Immigration Service, and several members of the negotiating committee and 30 workers were immediately deported to Mexico.

It is interesting to note that a new division of the National Maritime Union recently went into organizing these small industries where Mexican people without documents are employed: assembly, sub-assembly, electronics, garment, laundry and other service industries. It immediately ran into the immigration problem and found that it could not organize unless it began to defend the people against the immigration authorities. They held a national meeting with the Commissioner of Immigration to demand a change in the laws and regulations. These demands are strongly approved and supported by the Mexican mass movement. They are:

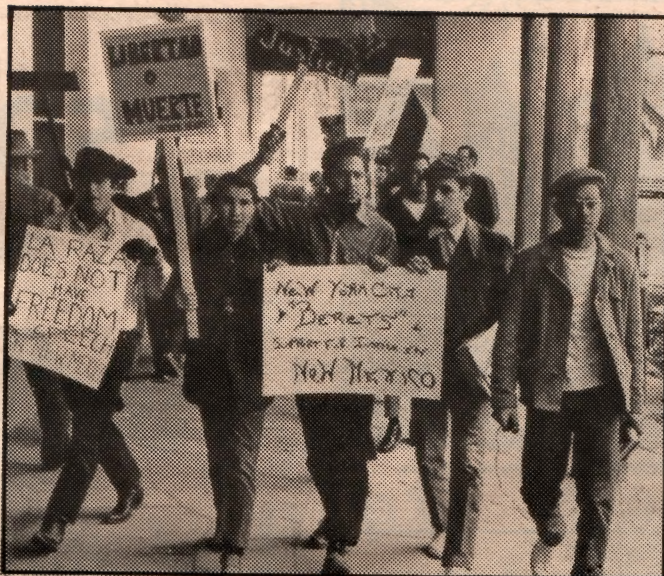
- to allow all workers who have been in the United States one year to remain at their jobs;
- to allow all people whose papers are being processed to remain in the U.S. pending the issuance of visas;
- that as a condition for these privileges the persons be required to begin processing documents immediately.

As in the rest of the country, the most dynamic and important part of the movement of the Mexican people today are the youth, who in our country today constitute more than 50 percent of the population. Among Chicanos the youth constitute an even larger part of the population than among Anglos. It is the youth who developed the first revolutionary congress to take place in the Mexican community (in Denver last summer). The second session of this congress was held in Denver in the latter part of March, 1970, and drew more than 3,000 participants from throughout the country, from the universities, high schools and the streets, twice as many as participated in 1969. It is the youth who are talking about and seeking alternatives to the capitalist system. Their discontent is evidenced in every Mexican community in the country and they are pursuing both immediate and long-range demands on the system.

Mexican youth on the West Coast and throughout the Southwest last spring and on the 16th of September last fall staged massive school strikes. In Los Angeles alone 15,000 youth struck simultaneously. This was essentially uncoordinated, and was almost totally unexpected by their adult teachers and parents. These strikes had one thing in common: they demanded an end to the present system of education; they demanded the beginning of Chicano education, of education in the Spanish language, of education in the history and in the culture of their people; they demanded an end to the 50 percent so-called "drop-outs" who are actually school rejects, called "push-outs" by many in the Spanish-speaking communities.

The rejection of the Chicano student begins from the time he enters school. He is confronted by an educational system that derides his language and his culture, that punishes him for speaking Spanish on the school grounds and demands that he begin studying subject matter in the English language whether he knows it or not. This creates a block to all learning in most of the Mexican students and in many cases makes them marginal both to the Anglo culture that seeks to impose itself on them, and to their Mexican heritage which they are never taught.

The Chicano students want adequate school plants, small classes, and better qualified teachers. It used to be said that the Mexican youth (and many of us believed it) were not motivated to learn, and yet it is these youth who have put forward the most advanced demands in the education field. These demands go beyond those even dreamed of by the adults who supposedly were to supervise and teach them, and much less by the mem-



Sante Fe County Courthouse, November 1966

Karl Kernberger

bers who make up the Boards of Education.

Side by side with the militancy of the youth there continues the struggle of the farm workers to organize themselves. Basic to this is the 5-year struggle in the grape fields of California which has now spread to workers in other crops and in other states. The struggle has served as an inspiration and as a unifying principle to the Mexican people as a whole, but it has done more than that, as important as that is. The struggle of the farm workers has served to awaken labor to its potential and has reminded labor of its forgotten commitments. Further, it can also be said that the struggle of the farm workers is also more than a union, it is a mass movement.

In addition, the farm labor movement has helped to infuse the Chicano liberation movement with a class concept while bringing to the campesinos a recognition of the necessary unity between farm and city workers — as well as unity with Blacks and Anglos who are also among the oppressed.

I mentioned as another part of the labor struggle the interest of the NMU in the Mexican community; that this interest reflects the beginnings of an awakening by the labor movement to the existence of the Mexican community and its potential. This general awakening is seen in the establishment of community unions in the Mexican barrios by the UAW and now by the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA).

The establishment of the Mexican American Labor Council by the Los Angeles AFL-CIO was an initial indication of this awakening some years ago. However, the organization of the growing number of rank-and-file-controlled Chicano caucuses in the labor movement has helped bring about a new level of understanding and response within the labor movement. The response of the labor movement as a whole, however, remains woefully inadequate.

On the electoral front the Mexican people continue their long and unequalled struggle against the exclusion of our community from the body politic. In California there is one Assemblyman, no State Senator, one Congressman; and there is no Mexican-American in any important elective position in the entire city of Los Angeles, which is the 4th largest in Mexican population in the world. This struggle necessarily continues mainly within the Democratic Party, because of the overwhelming participation in the Mexican community in that particular organization. However, the organization that the Mexican-American people have set up to continue the struggle was, significantly, established as a non-partisan organization which is prepared to run its own candidates and to seek the endorsement of any political party, including minority parties.

Another aspect of the Chicano movement in the U.S. is a growing realization of our solidarity with the Indian people.

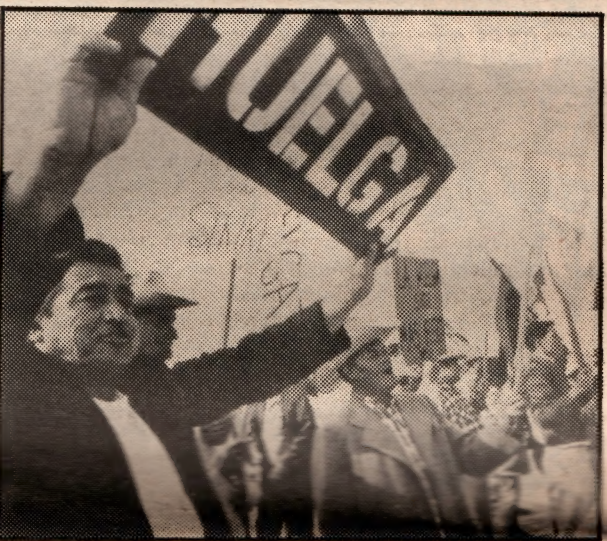
To all this the bourgeoisie has not remained silent. It has launched a national attack in the movement of the Mexican people from Texas to New Mexico to California, from San Francisco to Los Angeles to San Antonio. There are the indictments of the Los Angeles 15, for supposedly helping the children to formulate demands for better education, "Conspiracy to Disturb the Peace." There are the indictments against the Biltmore 8, for their challenge to a conference called by Governor Reagan on Chicano education and presumably disrupting the conference. There are "Los Siete (7) de La Raza" who were first attacked and then arrested by the San Francisco police. And, of course, one cannot speak of oppression without speaking of Reies Lopez Tijerina, the leader of the struggle for the return of the New Mexico Land Grants.

In the overall movement, the party faces a number of important ideological tasks. First, we must impress on the mass movement the potentially strong alliance which the Mexican people can provide, and we must



In support of Los Siete

Stephen Shames/Photon/LNS



During the California grape strike

impress on the mass movement the understanding that the Mexican people as a conquered people in the heartland of their conquerors are a direct challenge to American imperialism throughout the continent. The Mexican people have direct ties of culture and race with Mexico and with all of Latin America. We must bring to the mass movement the understanding that we must take special responsibility for the defeat of imperialism which maintains Mexico and Latin America in such a desperate economic situation. One of the most brutal expressions of American imperialism is the continued boycott of Cuba. We must do much more in the struggle to end the boycott of Cuba, which not only involves a boycott by the U.S. but is an organized boycott by every country that is dominated by the U.S. on this matter.

Cuba, as the Mexican-Americans can see, is developing the living alternative to the imperialist exploitation that affects them and the rest of the continent.

We must recognize the continuing struggle for representation within the body politic as a struggle of a doubly oppressed section of the working class for an expression of its immediate demands.

We must bring into the mass movement the most advanced demands possible, and not be content with the minimum demands developed by the movement. As a case in point, in the struggle of the Farm Workers we must develop not the cry for the lousy Landrum-Griffin Act, but the cry for a Bill of Rights for the Farm Workers that will make up for the years of special oppression suffered by this section of the class.

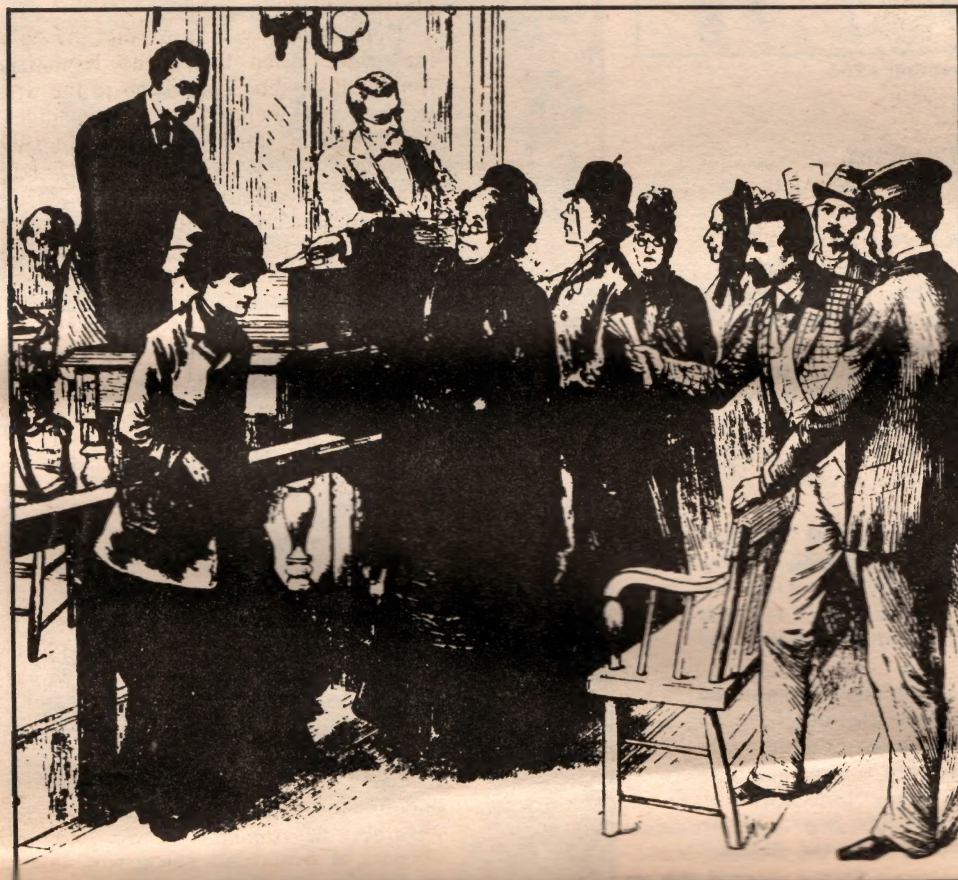
We must develop in the consciousness of the Blacks and the Mexican people a unity in the common struggle which they are conducting for national liberation. While the Blacks and the Mexican people have everything in common in terms of their ultimate objectives which are involved in national liberation, there are great dangers that in the interim, serious rifts might develop.

To implement these demands our own organization must conduct a deep study of the national question and of self-determination as it applies to the Mexican people.

Finally, the whole strategy of our party should be a strategy that commits us to active and immediate support for all of the immediate needs of the Mexican people, while we indicate that none of the basic problems and contradictions facing them under this system will be solved until the party and the masses together finally abolish the system and move to the construction of a socialist America.



Elizabeth Cady Stanton addressing the first Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, July 19, 1848.



Women depositing their ballots at the Town Hall in Cambridge, Mass. in 1879.



Parade in support of women's suffrage, Boston 1853

50 years since and the fight goes on

"The fact is women are in chains, and their servitude is all the more debasing because they do not realize it. O, to compel them to see and feel and to give them the courage and the conscience to speak and act for their own freedom, though they face the scorn and contempt of all the world for doing it!"

Susan B. Anthony, 1872

By RUTH FRANCE NORRICK

When Susan B. Anthony was past 80, she went to hear Eugene Debs. That was in 1903, in Rochester, New York, where she was living. They had met 25 years before in his home town, Terre Haute, Indiana. The young Debs had rashly engaged the Opera House so that his fellow citizens might hear her speak on voting rights for women. Very few came.

Now Debs was on the platform, and she in the audience. He sought her out, and they talked, briefly about their aims. "Give us suffrage," Miss Anthony said, "and we'll give you socialism." He replied, "Give us socialism, and we'll give you suffrage." (The account is from Ray Ginger's *The Bending Cross*.)

He was more nearly right than she. The socialist state set up in 1917 by the Bolsheviks granted women full equality. That victory forced a reluctant President to pressure a reluctant Congress to accede to the suffragists' demand for a Constitutional amendment that would secure for women the right to vote.

That was 50 years ago, August 26, 1920. Little written today about women's liberation — or the lack of it — would indicate that that victory might somehow be tied in with the need for a revolutionary change in the social order. It was not always so, even in this country. On the contrary, in the beginning, the need for a complete "restructuring" of society, to use today's polite term, was propounded early and late. Today's women's rights advocates only occasionally catch up with that beginning.

Yet the need for that change, and a detailed plan for its achievement, was set before the United States Congress in 1825. The occasion was the visit to this country of Robert Owen, the Scottish industrialist, who was backing a demonstration project in New Harmony, Indiana. There his ideas for a "New System of Society"—the subject of his address—were being put to the test.

He called for the abolition of private property—the basis of the evil he saw all around him. Particular attention would be paid to the position of women. Marriage would be on an affectional basis only. Children would be cared for by the community. Freed from the drudgery of their lot, women would be free, as men would be free, to develop to their full potential.

People seeing the advantages of that "new system" would throw over the old, and, in time, a co-operative commonwealth would take the place of the



Elizabeth Cady Stanton

old. The new land was the place to try it, Robert Owen declared, and the Congress listened.

Possibly 200 such "communitistic" villages were established. Seventy to 80 were still in existence in 1886.

The point is that ideas voiced in the struggle for women's rights were not something apart from ideas abroad at that time. The emancipation of women was an important part of the concern with human freedom—the "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" defined in the Declaration of Independence. That birthright, freedom and promise of equality was to be secured for all; for those in bondage because they were women; for those in bondage because they were black; and for those in bondage, men and women, young and old, black and white, because the circumstances of their lives made it necessary for them to sell their labor to the highest bidder, and the bidding did not come high.

Each liberation cause had its own following—the rising labor movement, the women's liberation movement, and the anti-slavery campaign. Each, at times, joined forces for an assault on a common objective—the temperance battle being an instance. At other times, in the press forward, one or the other broke away for a time. The women's movement might be seen as a break-away from the labor movement, or as its advance phalanx, or, perhaps, as both — it was evident that a woman's ability to support herself was a necessary step to her liberation.

In any event, the date and place of the

the vote —

"Scare ME, will you?"



Drawing from Life, August 28 August 29, 1918

movement's launching is known: July 19, 1848, in Seneca Falls, New York. There the first Women's Rights Convention was held. There, the Declaration of Sentiments, modelled after the Declaration of Independence, was first read. There, for the first time, the demand for the franchise was put forward:

"Resolved: That it is the duty of the women of the country to secure for themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise."

That resolution was the daring work of Elizabeth Cady Stanton—"Not that, Lizzie, not that," she had been warned. The proposal was so radical it would make the whole movement ridiculous, and "close the door to more rational reforms." Indeed, it likely would have failed of passage had it not been for the eloquent support of Frederick Douglass.

Other resolutions demanded the right to free education, to equality with men in industry and the professions, and to free speech and participation in public affairs.

The movement caught on beyond anyone's expectations. It attracted many of the foremost capable women—and men—of that time, and the decades to come. Its leadership, generally, came from the well-educated and well-to-do. Susan B. Anthony was an exception, for though well-educated and from a respected Quaker family, she had no means of support other than what the movement provided. She worked hard.

That leadership should have been from the upper strata was understandable. Who else had the time? Not the women who were working 12 or more hours a day in the factories and mills; not the housewives who drudged round the clock caring for their children.

"Man works from sun to sun.
Woman's work is never done."

But that call for women's liberation was heeded more and more, not only by those in the fine houses, but by those in the cottages and farmhouses, and those in the city tenements. "The souls of women were beating their wings in rebellion"—the words are those of a 19-year-old who attended that first convention after reading an advertisement of the meeting in the Seneca paper. Her name was Charlotte Woodward.

When suffrage was granted, she was the only one alive of the 100 who signed the Declaration.

Seventy-two years of struggle!

If only the word "sex" had been added to "race, color, or previous condition of servitude" in the Fifteenth Amendment all might have won the franchise together! That native white woman's vote, added to the vote of the newly emancipated black men and women, might have held the gains made in the Reconstruction period.

Somehow the women held on, under the unfaltering generalship of Miss Anthony, abetted by Mrs. Stanton. Both lived to see many rights won—changes in property laws, marriage and divorce laws, and laws relating to the custody of children; laws protecting women workers and securing their wages to them; laws—inadequate though they were—protecting children from factory exploitation.

They saw, too, doors opening in the professions and business. Women's colleges were established, and then co-educational institutions. More and more girls were finding their place in the world.

Slowly, too, even the franchise was being won, state by state, as interest was kept alive in the need for a Constitutional amendment. One had been introduced in 1869, and, in its present

form, in 1878. Arguments against it were that Federal action was not necessary, that even that place of last resistance, the South, would grant the vote by state legislative action.

Not so. A new generation took the torch from the hands of the old. In 1913, under the leadership of Alice Paul, they went to Washington to stay until victory was won. Ten thousand strong, they awaited Woodrow Wilson on the eve of his inaugural. Day after day they stood watch at the White House. When the United States entered the war "to save the world for democracy" they asked that it be exercised at home. When after the war the President went to Europe to write the peace, they lit fires in the park across from the White House, and burned his noble speeches as fast as copies came. They were arrested.

They organized a demonstration in New York, in March 1919, where the President was to address a mass meeting on the League of Nations. They were set upon by hoodlums and patriots and returned soldiers, and beaten mercilessly.

They used politics, and, in 1918, in the states where they had the vote, they voted against incumbent Democrats.

They did so to make the point that the Democrats, as the party in power, could have granted suffrage. (There was the opposition of the Southern bloc to be considered.) A Republican Congress took over in March 1919. The lesson learned, the Democrats joined the Republicans in passing and sending to the states the Susan B. Anthony amendment. It was ratified in time for the Presidential election of 1920.

Eugene Debs was in Atlanta prison at the time, jailed under the Espionage Act for his public opposition to the war. He was the Socialist Party's candidate for President, as he had been in 1912. He might have expected, out of loyalty if nothing more, that women, using the ballot for the first time, would vote Socialist. He had campaigned for the amendment for 40 years. His vote, though, barely exceeded that cast for him in 1912. Even so, despite all the terror and repression of that time, 1,000,000 voted for the prisoner in Atlanta.

Had Debs been able to look ahead to the 50th anniversary of the suffrage amendment, he would have reason to say again, "Socialism, Miss Anthony, socialism." He had lived long enough to see it triumph in at least one country. In the USSR the women had attained full citizenship rights.

As for this country, one need look no further than the report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women (1965). There the bright expectations of August 26, 1920, are interred, chapter by chapter, without explanation of why it should have been so. Supplement that documentation with Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, that sad, sad, sad account of America's young womanhood in the broad, broad reaches of affluent suburbia. Place against both what one knows about the day-to-day struggle of the women who must work to keep a home together—the long hours for low pay in the most menial of occupations—with little or no help from the community for the care of her children. Worse, consider the scorn against those forced to go on welfare for themselves and their children.

Things being as they are here in the United States today, 50 years after that "great victory," no bonfires are likely to be lit in celebration, and no drumbeats will roll. The call for women's liberation will have to grow even more strident if true equality is to be won.



Lampoon on women's suffrage — men of Rahway, N.J., tried to ridicule Mrs. Belva Lockwood, a woman lawyer who ran for President in 1884, by parading in Mother Hubbards and striped stockings, but everyone laughed at the men instead.



WOODS BURNING

Thru sunlight
thru the fiery eyeball
between trees,
between handshakes of smoke,
behind charred stumps
like a metaphysical mole
whose blindness
unleashes depths,
or like a discarded thought
winding about
an omen of autumnal air,
I admire the spirals of flame,
the broken backs of smoldering branches,
the incendiary weeds
with a resemblance to delicate feathers,
a pheasant cock
startled by a brash spark,
the oak leaves
trembling like frightened hands
begging a coin of spittle,
a mirage of moisture
hanging from my lips.
Yet nothing but fingers
are assembled in my pockets,
and on my feet,
torn sneakers
bearing my possible cremation,
clamoring like terrified jays
up a steep slope
thru a bazaar of honeysuckle,
skirting the threatened corn
to meet fire with fire.

—Jack Lindeman

MURDER INCORPORATED OF THE WORLD

Why do you write always
against Free Enterprise?
asked a lady who condescended
to invite me to her cocktail
and poetry party.
Her question baffled me. Why?
Because, I said, like many other children,
I never had new shoes,
save those donated by charity.
Because I saw too many landless laborers
perish of t.b. caused by malnutrition,
while working the fertile soil
of big landlords for profit.
Because during the 1st and 2nd World War
millions of humans were murdered
to keep the profit system going.
Because right now men, women, children,
beasts and vegetation are destroyed
in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia.
Indians tortured and slaughtered
in Brazil, Argentina. . .
Genocide committed against the
inhabitants of rotting slums of USA.
School children murdered for protesting
against war, hunger, discrimination.
Briefly, I write against the
obsolete capitalistic rule,
you call euphemistically: Free Enterprise
because it is

The World's
Greatest,
Murder Incorporated.

—Anca Vrbovska



IN THE BUNK THAT WAS YOUR BED

Though other men sh
Of the Bunk that was
No longer will they be
By the stifling dark of

Reeds of light, in your
Pricking the body, sta
The moon spread, in t
Not on green branche

Horriying, oppressiv
A man possessed not
Of workers' inevitabl
Victory having been p

A man not imbued wi
That events flow and

Sketches by Seymour Joseph



SENORA MEDELEZ

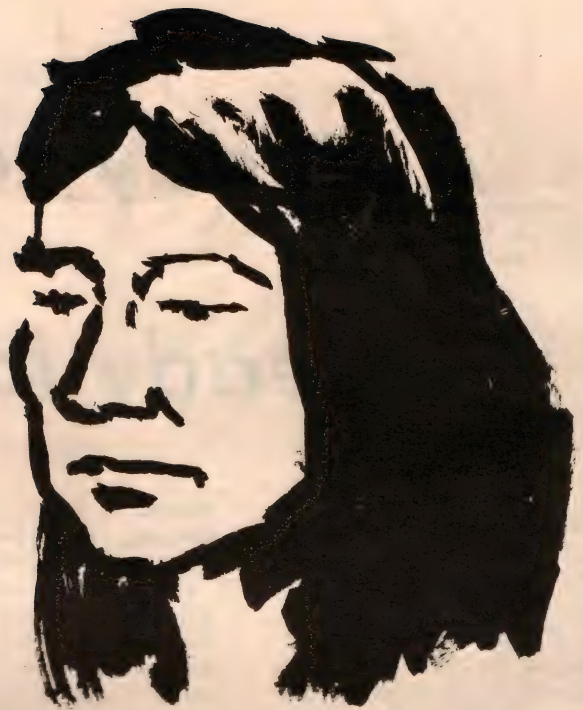
senora medelez chicana
of
azteca bones and blood
in
your woman body that was/is beautiful
hard is your
face from times that were/are
bad
and you senora medelez know what hunger is
and your children also know.
they are older now. and you loved
and cried for them
that is why

your
face is hard.
and where is joe your oldest son?
married after a year
in jail
so now he's gone and you've
got 5 left after lucy at 15
got pregnant
married came back and
her husband is
in jail at 19.

senora medelez
your eyes are cold and small
your mouth set unmovable like the time you went to
the station for hitting a cop
you said nobody hits my children.
nobody!
the pyramids of aztecas
still are proud
and tall with sands of the desert in
the wind
and sun as
the cactus grows wild.

the things
left are strong as the aztecas and
senora medelez the
pyramids are beautiful
like you
when asleep
in the city.

—David Hernandez



A SOUTH VIETNAMESE WIDOW MOURNS HER ONLY SON, KILLED IN CAMBODIA

(a found poem from the N.Y. Times, 7/17/70)

Son, Son, why are you dead too soon?
Come back, take my gifts
do you hear me, Thu?
drink and eat, smoke.
When you were very little
and I had to put you down to cook for Papa
you always cried and I always took you
back in my arms.
Now you leave me alone in the world.
Who will take me now?
If I could only take you to Nhatrang,
but I cannot.
Do you know, Thu, how miserable I am
never, never to have grandchildren,
alone till the day I die?

—Walter Lowenfels

AND HEARSE

be languishing tenants
our bed and hearse,
sucked of will and strength
incarcerating walls.

well, were thistle sharp,
bing the spirit.
e night, its silver sheen
out upon dreary bars.

these were your days.
th the conviction
triumph over exploiters,
oved in man's history;

the firm knowledge
iral to the necessary path

Whereby man shall be man, at one in work and rest,
Shall perish in desolation and utter defeat.

But in your bunk that was your bed and hearse
You fought and struggled instead of languished;
The void, the heavy silence of prison walls
Were not as vultures pecking wounds in your breast.

You were a blacksmith toiling on the anvil
Hammering words into useful shapes
That your comrades would learn and understand
The road you took, the life you had chosen.

Like you, other men shall be tenants
Of the bunk that was your bed and hearse,
But, remembering you, will not be sucked of will and
By stifling dark of incarcerating walls!

—Huk prison song.
the Philippines



A steady company on an unsteady footing

By SIMON SCHABLONE

SAN FRANCISCO
For the last 30 years, critics and audiences have hailed the many fine accomplishments of the American Ballet Theatre. During its recent season at New York's Lincoln Center, the company broke all box office records not only for ballet but for all theatrical productions playing anywhere in the country at the same time. The performances were some of the best in the company's brilliant history, yet the harsh reality of the situation is that ABT is on the brink of possible extinction. One of the major reasons is that the company has never had a permanent home, the other being the lack of a solid financial basis to insure that the group will not suddenly go into bankruptcy.

However, these realities have never prevented the dancers from working, and like Gypsies they have traveled the country for three decades presenting everything from one night stands to full

seasons of ballet, and without a doubt bringing live and vital dance to more Americans than any other group.

Our government has always had a peculiar lack of interest in the arts, and, unlike other countries, has never committed itself to fully subsidizing any of the performing arts. With the money which the Pentagon wastes in one year, a company like ABT could be supported for at least the next 30 years!

The average dancer lives a hand-to-mouth existence, collecting unemployment insurance when he is not performing, and it was only recently that the dancers were allowed to receive Workmen's Compensation for injuries encountered while dancing.

One of the company's founding choreographers was the famous Russian, Michel Fokine, whose philosophy of dance was that rather revolutionary notion: one should dance the music rather than dance to the music. He once said: "However distant, however unrealistic does the art of dancing appear at first glance, it should



Ted Kivitt



Eleanor D'Antuono

contain its own truth of life if it is ever to have any value." ABT with its wide and encompassing repertory has followed Fokine's ideas faithfully, and its performances have always been characterized by virtuosity and a sense of great discipline. ABT is one of the few ballet companies which can span the distance between classical ballet and modern dance with each style performed successfully.

ABT had the distinction of being the first American dance group to appear in the Soviet Union, and the response from the Soviet critics was overwhelming.

Some of the greatest dancers for three generations have danced with the company, and, besides its innovations in the art of dancing, the company has also initiated many social innovations, such as presenting the first all-black ballet, "Black Ritual," as well as encouraging black dancers to perform in the regular repertory. This summer, ABT presented black choreographer Alvin Ailey's new work, "The River," with a score by none other than Duke Ellington. The work created a sensation and proved that ballet is not all white and only Tchaikovsky. The recent season also presented Jose Limon's "The Traitor" and "The Moor's Pavan" which achieved a new milestone in the company's modern dance accomplishments. Limon is a Mexican Indian.

ABT has a roster of some of the greatest dancers presently before the public. One, who represents the end result of what experience and training with ABT can accomplish, is the magnificent dancer Ted Kivitt. In many ways Kivitt is the personification of the American dancer. He was thoroughly trained in the classical ballet tradition in his native Florida and feels that his Russian-Polish

ancestry might be a contributing factor in his feeling for the dance. Joining ABT in 1961, he came up through the ranks from minor roles to principal dancer. He is one of the undisputed super stars of this dance generation. Igor Moiseyev told me his impressions of a Kivitt performance: "He dances with great energy and great insight into the basic nature of the dance. If he represents the training which American dancers receive, then you have done an excellent job in preparing your dancers. I found him to be one of the most exciting American dancers I have ever seen."

Kivitt's wife, Karena Brock, is also a soloist with ABT and did a splendid job as the young bride in Stravinsky's work, "Les Noces." Together, this young couple radiate a sense of wholesomeness which is reflected in their dancing, and lets us know that as long as such dedicated people are involved in ballet, it is far from a dead art form.

But ABT is not only made up of fine dancers, it also includes gifted directors, teachers, costume designers, musicians and stage hands.

The company is now on a European tour, wowing audiences wherever they perform, and acting as "unofficial" representatives of the American people. I say "unofficial" because the powers that be in Washington are not sponsoring the tour but have left ABT to its own resources. Hopefully, ABT will not become extinct; we need more artists like Ted Kivitt and less fighting planes and submarines. Perhaps one day we will have leaders who will support not only the ABT but all the performing arts, and, therefore, let people experience the joys of dancing, singing, acting and making music and not the woes of war and wasting the lives and resources of this country.



World Magazine

Youth and Revolution

By ALBERTO MOREAU

One of the main features of today's revolutionary movement is the increasing participation and militancy of young people. The youth are challenging the system of exploitation, oppression, hateful racism and unjust and barbarous wars.

Young workers and students are carrying on battles for national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In this era of transition from capitalism to socialism, the ideas of national liberation are deepened and linked with those of social emancipation. In the metropolises of imperialism we are witnessing clashes between the repressive forces and the militant young people: France, West Germany and others. The most outstanding of these are the persistent struggles of the North American youth against the war in Indochina and against racism that victimizes the masses of Blacks, Mexicans, (Chicanos) and Puerto Ricans.

While it is true that the developing struggles — often bloody — have produced a higher level of understanding of the nature of imperialism, it is also true that ideas, organizations and programs emerging in the course of the social upheaval bear a multicolor character. There are large groups which are guided by the experiences and theories of the last fifty years, and others who, despite their anti-imperialist programs, vacillate and fall under influences alien and inimical to Marxism-Leninism. In the atmosphere of anti-communism and anti-labor ideas, a variety of the latter has emerged: anarchism, Trotskyism, Maoism, etc. Ideas are propagated to the effect that one can accept parts of Marxism-Leninism. This is expressed in the so-called rejection of "dogmatic Marxism," as if dogmatism were an integral part of Marxism. Some sectors of the anti-imperialist movement who profess adherence to socialism elaborate

their strategy and tactics, they say, "on the basis of the fundamental concepts of socialism," but declare themselves against "dogmatic Marxism." Often the term is used for the purpose of dissociating oneself from the Communist movement, alleging that it is "dogmatic."

Here we must ask: "What is dogmatic Marxism?" The writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin are full of polemics against dogmatism. The praxis has confirmed that Marxism and dogmatism are irreconcilable; they are antagonistic. Marxism-Leninism is the science that serves as a guide for socialist revolution and national liberation. It is a living and illuminating science, whereas dogmatism is anti-revolutionary, leads to opportunism, paralyzes mass actions with its divisiveness and narrowness of concepts and visions.

Dogmatism is a way of thinking based on unchangeable concepts and formulations; it rejects the specific conditions of a given historical moment, of changes which have been brought about by the new era of transition to socialism. The dogmatists treat laws as if they were immutable and use old tactics which do not correspond to the reality of today. For instance, the anarchism of yesterday and today propagates the destruction of the state and its replacement by "free communes"; it is against all authority, including that of the proletariat in power. This is a distortion of Marxism that teaches the withering away of the state after the radical transformation of society and the establishment of communism. Anarchism and its offshoots preach violence and disorganization per se as fundamental principles. Dogmatism rejects reality, the new emerging from the era of national liberation and socialism; it refuses to apply new tactics and methods of struggle.

Marxism is the mortal enemy of dogmatism which leads to defeat and reduces the movement to sects, separating the "movement" from the masses and primarily from the working class. Contrary to dogmatism, Marxism-Leninism is a living and creative science. Its strength lies in revolutionary practice. History teaches us that dogmatic ideas and actions never resulted in social changes, large or small. The Communist movement suffered hard blows whenever it displayed dogmatic tendencies. Marxism-Leninism triumphed in one third of the world in the struggle against dogmatism and right opportunism. It was Lenin who developed the theory and new tasks of this new epoch. He enriched Marxism with the theory of the possibility of building socialism in one country in defiance of Trotsky who was opposed to it.

Lenin foresaw the epoch of revolutions of national liberation on a world scale, adding to the theoretical arsenal of Marxism the possibility of by-passing the painful period of capitalist development in the underdeveloped countries. With the triumph of the revolution of 1917, the new era of world revolution began. This prospect became reality for the first time on our continent with the Cuban revolution. Lenin wrote: "Our theory, said Marx and Engels, is not a dogma but a guide to action."

In conclusion, the so-called partial acceptance of Marxism-Leninism is false. There is no such thing as "dogmatic Marxism," nor the partial acceptance of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. As a living and creative science, scientific socialism includes the entire philosophic-economic-social system based on dialectical materialism. To accept it "in part" means to reject it whole and to smuggle in ideas and concepts which are essentially contrary to Marxism-Leninism.



Work goes on in sub-zero temperatures at Ust Ilim

By MIKE DAVIDOW

UST ILIM, SIBERIA

Our small 12-seater Antonov plane seemed flimsy as it fluttered over the endless stretches of Siberia's famous, wondrous, but forbidding, taiga — virgin forests that seemed to shut out all human existence. Below, too, snaking its way along this wilderness of riches was the prime target of Komsomol construction

'Our minds and our pens should meet'

By LUCILLE BANTA

In a little shrub-filled courtyard of a modest street in Moscow with the auspicious title "Marx and Engels Place" you come across a modestly appointed office... that of the *Kommunist Magazine*, official cultural organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

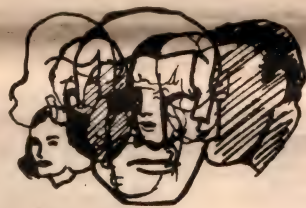
And when you are introduced to Anatoly Yegorov, its Editor in Chief, and learn that he is also Correspondent-Member of the Academy of Sciences, and head of its Department of Aesthetics, you forget the plain little office entirely. For Comrade Chief Yegorov, without a moment's hesitation, in his booming Russian baritone, takes you on a literary rocket trip through two world wars and beyond.

We had come together with fellow-editors Boris Lihachev and Leo Sheidin to discuss a most interesting project, the coming together in person of top Soviet and American writers to debate in public forum, for the first time in the history of our two countries, what is probably the most significant topic for literature in our time; "The Role of the Writer Today." But you discover that you don't have to "sell" Yegorov on this idea at all; he is way ahead of you already, and it is all your speedwriting can do just to keep up with him.

"Yes! Our minds and our pens should meet—not as crossed swords but in a mutual, seriously needed search for common understandings. There is no greater challenge to thinking people in our time.

"As I see it, there are two major literary and artistic trends today. Both stem from the same source: the decline of capitalist class society. But they tend to move in opposite directions. One such trend reflects man's common interests and aspirations; the material and moral force of **humanism** against the worldwide scourge of imperialism, racism and war. This is a trend toward **integration** of the human spirit. The other tendency, more prevalent today I believe than ever before during our own lifetime experience, also springs from the artist's rejection of the horrors and depravities he sees in the world around him—but

here the whole emphasis is on decadence, moral decay, man's 'helplessness' and 'hopelessness,' frustration and despair in the face of the enemy. In a word, this outlook represents all that has come to be known as the 'alienation' of the human spirit.



"It is not that such an outlook—as expressed in so many of the visual arts, writings, theater and films of the past decade—is guilty of over-emphasizing the decadence and decline of outmoded social systems, so much as that it **under-emphasizes** the great democratic traditions of the past and present; the fantastic scope of peoples' achievements. For example, how can one feel depressed or "downbeat" about a human spirit which is responsible for the victorious fightback, against incredible odds, of a tiny country like Vietnam?—defending itself against the U.S. Goliath; fully as much a modern miracle, without question, as is man's present Jules-Vernian conquest of Outer Space!!!

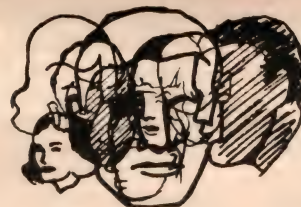
"These great democratic traditions have a history; they are embodied in the giant literary works of the 19th and early 20th centuries, which gave rise to the **democratic hero**—the concept of a whole, many-sided four-dimensional human being capable of rising above the meanness and snobbery, the pettinesses, viciousness, or mindless conformities of his time. From Whitman to Hemingway, from Tolstoy to Sholokov to Konetsky, this hero has developed, growing in stature and dimensions with the challenges of his age.

"In our present period, these challenges are well-nigh limitless—reaching out everywhere from man's discovery of the farthest planets to his freedom and survival on this one!... sharpened by his struggles against poverty and economic stagnation, struggles against the genocidal oppressions of

centuries, by whole popular tides against colonialism, neo-colonialism and wars of aggression—not to mention the rise of world socialism, along with a growing socialist consciousness everywhere, including, of course, in your own Western Hemisphere.

"These are awe-inspiring times we live in, really—despite the ugliness of neo-fascism and wars intended to stem the rising tide of humanity in motion. What writer today can be worth the paper he writes on, who ignores these cosmic realities and loses himself in trivia, petty lives, follies and futilities—without a larger consciousness?

"This is the approach of a literary outlook we call '**critical realism**'—which is a development and broadening out of the concept of socialist realism, in line with present day needs. This broader concept of the scope and role of the writer **augments**, but in no way negates, the very real achievements of socialist realism in our country—as, for example, in historic works about our own revolution, or the later struggles to build socialism, or our people's heroic resistance during the anti-fascist war. You Americans are perhaps most familiar with the giant Soviet film classics which emerged from this school of thought: the monumental works of an Eisenstein."



Here Yegorov smiled a bit wryly. "The capitalist press and its critics are paid well to pooh-pooh Soviet art and simply forget these great works of rising socialism. But **let them not forget**... in the critical days of 1917 we were to gentlemen like these just a 'passing phase,' a freak of history. Remember how disdainfully they used to refer to the Soviet experiment? Well, this 'little experiment' has exploded into a whole new world, a whole new stage in man's history, with a life and

culture all its own. And as for our pioneering successes at building socialism in one country—let us remind those well-paid pooh-poohers of the American publishing business that they may one day (maybe not too far off) find themselves trying to preserve **capitalism** in one country!

"But not only we... the best thinkers and writers of the so-called 'Western world' are also disgusted with capitalism. Even when not outright political, they reject the inhumanities of the profit system, grope with every decent instinct toward something better. Lenin called such people 'Socialists of sentiment.' We do not belittle but warmly welcome such sentiment, wherever it takes these artists in their honest searchings. For example, in the great wave of social realism that swept over Italian films in the wake of World War II, producing real master-works by Rossellini and the rest, a new frontier in this particular art form was created. Later the search turned inward. A whole series of Italian films began to concentrate in depth on the depravities and perversions of an effete society—as in the well known works of Fellini and company. Although much of this was oblique, mixed with Freudianism, Existentialism, a murky sort of mysticism, it was a nonetheless significant trend. I happen to think Fellini is a very gifted artist.

"But the intellectual of today's capitalist world is beset by its deepest inner contradictions, taking all forms of anti-rationalism, nihilism, anarchism, a chaotic sense of futility and despair. All this breeds **alienation** in the world of arts and letters as much as outside it. Daily clarification is needed, along with (and as a part of) struggle.

"We welcome all honest seekers for this; we join their search. Social classes, as well as social opinions, need not be separated by a solid wall. Even though products of different social systems, we are all human beings together; through all the changes and pressures of this complicated age, I believe we can find each other. I think it might make for a healthier climate in this world of great peril and greater hope, if our most respected and creative minds could meet and sound each other out face to face."

electric city blooms in the taiga

in Eastern Siberia — the Angara River.

Suddenly, tiny patches of civilization came into view: rooftops of wooden homes and concrete apartment buildings, the outlines of a hydro-electric power station in its first stages of construction. Cranes with a lifting capacity of 80 tons looked like toys from a child's erector set. Ant-like figures walked about.

We had arrived at Ust Ilim, the new Bratsk-in-construction, where the mighty Angara was being harnessed to create another 4,500,000 kilowatt hydro-electric power station and a modern city of 200,000 was being built. Three men rushed over to greet me: Anatol Frolov, Komsomol first secretary of the Ust Ilim area; Valery Dokuchaev, Komsomol secretary of the construction project and Boris Yanisov, deputy editor-in-chief of the Ust Ilim Pravda. I was, so they told me, the first correspondent from a capitalist country to visit Ust Ilim.

Ust Ilim, population 27,000 (its rapid growth makes figures risky), is a roughly-hewn, frontier-like city, the latest socialist outpost in the Komsomol-led offensive to tame the taiga. A winding ribbon-like road called The Road to Life connects it with civilization — Bratsk, its chief supplier of material and equipment and many of its most experienced workers. It is only 15 years old.

Ust Ilim's unfinished state is in a sense symbolic of the process of Communist construction taking place everywhere and in every sphere of Soviet life. The old and the new exist side by side: unpaved dirt roads and wooden huts, built when construction began, and new, neat, modern five-story apartment houses centrally heated by electricity and equipped with electric stoves. Ust Ilim was born an electric city (power supplied by "Brother" Bratsk) and it, like all other Siberian cities, will be among the most electrified in the world.

Material incentives are an important and necessary element in stimulating the construction of the Ust Ilims. Bonuses and other benefits are based on climatic and arduous conditions of labor. The average wage in Ust Ilim is 220 rubles a month,

a good deal higher than the average Soviet wage. Bonuses go up to as high as 40% of the wage. After the first year one gets a 10% bonus. There are additional bonuses for economizing on material. Workers receive 36-day vacations yearly (the average in the Soviet Union is 24 days). Once every two years workers can travel home free of charge. Men retire at 55 and women at 50 years of age but they can retire earlier, depending on length of service. (In this zone it must be not less than 20 years for men and 15 for women.) Every year's service in the zone is counted as a year and a half.

But bonuses and benefits, as important as they are, hardly account for the outpouring of youth and the tenacity with which they stick to their rigorous jobs. Forty and fifty degrees below zero, centigrade, is not at all unusual here. Work is usually halted only when it hits 45 below or more. Moreover, most of the youth are not professional construction workers. Many give up other careers, often in non-physical categories, to join in the construction.

In Soviet life, hydro-electric power stations and cities, modern, comfortable homes, nurseries, schools, theaters, cultural clubs, stores, all go together. And Ust Ilim already has all these. I visited one of the nurseries (Ust Ilim is a city of young mothers — teen agers and gray heads are scarce) where 250 children are cared for by a staff of 90, fed three meals a day, at a charge of 10-12 rubles a month.

Among a group of 40 or so young people in the dormitory, I asked: Why did you come to Ust Ilim? There was a long silence. Then Alexei Yagmurov, a wispy-bearded youth from Alma Ata, who had worked in Ust Ilim and its surrounding area for four years, answered. He read a poem written by one of his comrades, which, roughly translated, said: We won't be taken from the earth. Let others travel by ship and air. But we'll take a shovel to mix concrete — stronger, and we'll work on our land. Then we'll smoke a cigarette with a friend and a senior worker will come over and tell us we are good chaps. The deep hole in the ground will be closed

this year. And in some way we will know: we are creative workers.

There was a deep silence when Alexei finished reciting the poem, then he continued: "It's not necessary for anyone to call us good chaps. Because when we pour concrete on the river's bottom we see how the dam grows before our eyes. The feeling of satisfaction is inside, deep inside, because you know something very important will remain after you. Often in a big city you feel as if you are dissolved. But here you know it's a great value to be a man."

Gallina Balahonteva, a former economist-technician from the Udmurtia Autonomous Republic, who came to Ust Ilim three years ago, expressed a similar sentiment. "Before, I lived in a city. Here, I, myself, can help make a city."

Vitaly Kulya, chief engineer of the 900-meter bridge being constructed across the Angara at Ust Ilim, came to Bratsk 11 years ago, fresh from the institute in Kharkov. Why did he come? He smiled in surprise at the question. "Our work is dirty but everything that remains after we have finished is clean and beautiful."

Many of the builders of Siberia's new cities come from the Soviet Union's battered heroic cities and villages. Valery, the Komsomol leader of the hydro-electric construction project, was born in immortal Stalingrad (Volgograd). His father died in its defense. Vassily Pyechkovski, the project construction chief, comes from a village in martyred Byelorussia where one out of every three was killed in the war against the Nazi invasion. They spoke of Ust Ilim and their birthplaces in the same loving breath.

Their "enemy" was the Angara, the bitter Siberian frost, the boundless impenetrable taiga. But it was a foe against which they struggle without hate. On the contrary they spoke of the Angara and taiga with affection and had good words for Siberia's winter. They came not to conquer but to tame (not too much) their environment, to harness it for the construction of communism and they, like all I met, fell in love with Siberia's wild beauty. Vassili (and all Ust Ilimers) spoke with tenderness of the three Little Moose Islands in the Angara that helped them win the first contest with the turbulent river. He was pained at the thought that the islands would be swallowed up in the final victory over the Angara. "Jal, ochen jal" ("It's a great pity"), Vassili sighed.

In Ust Ilim one breathes the spirit of comradeship as one inhales the fragrant taiga air. Comradeship is welded in struggle as revolutionaries and fighters for liberation the world over well know. Oleg Svirin, an engineer and Komsomol leader, noted that Jack London had written of man's heroic struggle against a forbidding nature much like our own Siberia. But London's heroes were brave, strong individuals without a collective and a great common social goal to guide them, he added. Ust Ilim's heroes are strong and brave but their courage and strength have that social dimension London's heroes lacked. Siberia's wealth lies above all not in its countless resources but in the youthful builders of Ust Ilim and Bratsk. Siberia, the land of exile and forbidding frost under the Czars, is today

not only one of the prime sources for the sinews of Soviet industry, it is a vast school for communism. And its "classroom" projects are hydro-electric power stations, huge timber complexes, aluminum plants, railroads, airports and cities.

An army of massive cranes, bulldozers and trucks is being used to storm the Angara. But in this storming there have been incredibly few casualties. Among the 9,000 workers last year, there were only 2 serious accidents. There have been no deaths. The secret? The same Soviet secret I met everywhere: concern for human life. The word of the trade union safety committee is law. No work ever begins before its OK is given.

As everywhere, women play an equal role in all phases of the construction of Ust Ilim. They are engineers, they direct the movement of 80-ton loads from the cabin of huge cranes, they are political leaders. Vera Kozhizta, who came here from Petro Pavlovsk two years ago, is in charge of political education of the boys' and girls' hostels. Why did she come here? Her pretty eyes sparkled. "As Komsomols, we go where it's most difficult. We have to be at the front line in the construction of communism." Then she added: "I never knew such beautiful flowers grew in Siberia."

On a hill overlooking the hydro-electric station in construction, Valery Dokuchaev's handsome young face spoke as eloquently as his words as he told me of the first closing of the Angara. "We closed it at 4:30 A.M., August 13, 1969."

The Komsomol leaders are of a new breed of revolutionaries. They are revolutionary builders in the full sense of the words. They are the incarnation of theory and practice. They spoke to me with equal ease and knowledge of the technical and ideological problems to be solved. Their Soviet training made them engineers as well as political leaders because both qualities are essential in the construction of the material and technical basis of communism and the molding of Communist Man. Their very goal brings out the poetry in them.

Where will the builders of Ust Ilim go from here? The slogan of the Komsomols seems to be "Follow the Angara." Many have come to Ust Ilim from Bratsk. After Ust Ilim another hydro-electric station and city is scheduled for construction. A total of 6 hydro-electric stations and, of course, cities will be constructed on the Angara. They will have a total capacity of 15,000,000 kw.

But many of Ust Ilim's builders will settle in the city they are building.

New cities like Ust Ilim seem to have a special character. They are young cities and they exude the enthusiasms and energy of youth. These are cities inhabited by their creators. Every street, every building, every spot brings forth memories of struggle and creativity.

To move toward communism, Anatol Frolov, Ust Ilim's dynamic and warm-hearted Komsomol first secretary, told me, we have to move from "concrete objective to objective, step by step." That is the way the youth see the path to communism, he added.

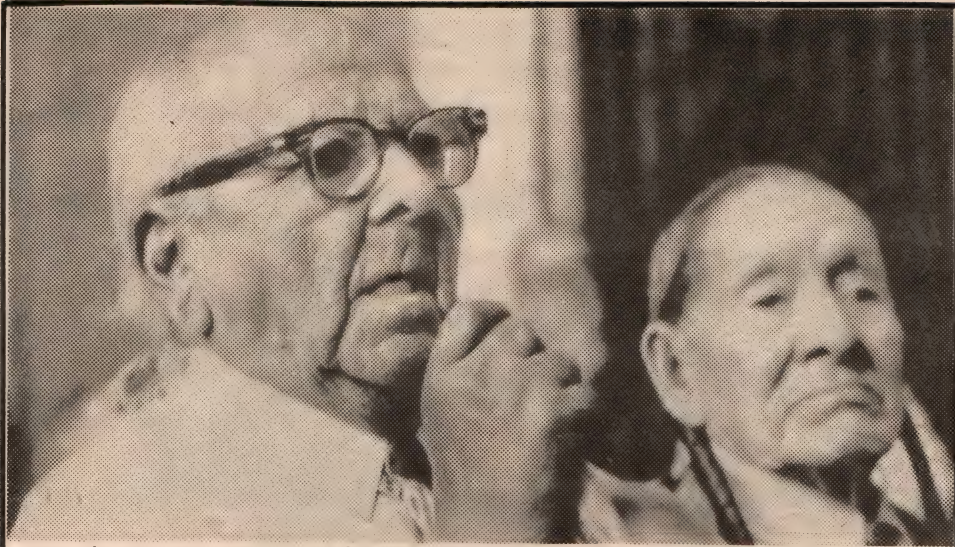
Ust Ilim gave me a peek into that future.



Young women workers show Mike Davidow around their project



Afternoon nap in an Ust Ilim nursery



Juan de Jesus Romero (1) and James Mirabal in Washington, D. C. to ask Congress for the return of the Blue Lake area of New Mexico, the traditional sacred shrine of the Taos Pueblo Indians.



The Taos Pueblo

If this be justice

By GORDON ELLIS

The United States has been giving justice to the Indians for hundreds of years. Once every generation or so Congress makes up to the fact that the native American population is being screwed, and it proceeds to rectify the situation by turning the screws a little tighter. Now we're going through it again.

Each round to "help the Indians" resembles the last one. The *Warpath*, newspaper of the United American Natives, puts it:

"These are beautiful promises and look good in print, especially on the front pages of newspapers, but every President since Andrew Jackson has made promises of a similar nature. The big thing is to keep them. We can take these promises and put them with the rest that are collecting dust and cobwebs in a ten story building just for this purpose."

In 1946 Congress passed a law allowing the Indians to enter claims for title to whatever land they could prove was theirs. If they won a case before an Indian Claims Commission, they would receive not the land, but money. The idea was that this would get rid of Indian claims to land outside the reservations once and for all.

The 1946 law also allowed the Federal government to stop special funds for Indian education, health, etc., programs that were previously required. In this way the special relationship between the government and the Indians was broken. The Indians would henceforth be poor people like all other poor people and receive no special considerations.

The intent of the 1946 bill was revealed in the testimony on it. Congressman Adolph J. Sabath, who introduced the bill, said at one point, "I am not disposed to deprive the Indians of any rights because I have some Indians in my district, but they are good Indians."

It's not clear just exactly what Sabath meant, but it is clear that in the mind of Congress a good Indian was one who didn't haven any claims to land that white people might want, or were already using or to Federal funds that Congress wanted to spend elsewhere than for the reservations.

"We have been urging and driving the Indian Bureau to facilitate the movement of Indians from the reservations into the white man's economy," said then Rep. Karl Mundt, "but we always run up against the same road block—the Indian claims. Until and un-

less Congress takes action on these claims, it simply means that these annual appropriations for the Indian Service . . . are going to have to be made and we will get no place steadily in promoting the real interest and advancement of the Indian."

Just about every time the Government gets around to "promoting the real interest of the Indian," it means the Indians are about to take another beating. For example, in 1887 the Indian tribes in the U.S. could claim about 138 million acres of land. But in 1887 Congress passed another law establishing that only individual Indians could take land. And "surplus" over the needs of what Congress determined to be the basic allotment of an individual Indian, was sold. By 1934 Indians could legally claim about 52 million acres of land in the U.S.

So it was that in 1946, under the guise of recognizing what a bad deal the Indians had previously gotten, Congress prepared to pay money for whatever land the Indians could claim off the reservations. This money would, of course, permanently extinguish Indian title to such lands. Moreover, the law allowed only a limited time in which claims could be filled, till 1951. Still, the '46 law wasn't as harsh as previous ones.

One problem with this buying-land approach, however, is that it costs the government millions of dollars. Another problem is that there is a rising tide of struggle in the country. The Indians not only want land, but they are now demanding some measure of self-determination.

Another problem is that there have been quite a few court decisions in favor of Indian land claims. One such decision ruled that the Indians of the Taos pueblos, for example, have title to some 46,000 acres of park land near their homes. It was the recent introduction in the Senate of a bill to return the 46,000 acres to the Taos Indians that gave President Nixon the occasion to ask for a new attempt to meet the "real interest" of the Indian.

Nixon's scheme will end the old policy of termination whereby the government tried to get out of the Indian business by paying cash for the land, and setting arbitrary time-limits on filing claims.

Nixon has stated that he is proposing legislation which "would empower a tribe . . . to take over control or operation of federally funded and admini-

stered programs in the Department of the Interior and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare whenever the tribal council or comparable community governing group voted to do so."

Ostensibly, Nixon is proposing that Indians be allowed to do what most communities want to do: control the programs which deal specifically with their own community.

One key paragraph of Nixon's speech proposes legislation to allow the Indians to sign 99-year leases for the 50 million acres of land which will still remain in their control as reservation land. It would also increase, from \$25 million to \$75 million, the loan account available to Indians for investment projects involving Indian resources.

There will also be a new body set up, the Trust Counsel Authority, two of whose three board members will be Indian, to represent the Indians in future land claims.

All of this sounds very good. However, in practice it may work out to be what some Indians call "the same old buffalo shit." In the light of recent legislation passed by Congress, as opposed to Presidential rhetoric, Indian rights may become even further restricted.

The real purpose of the Nixon plan becomes clear when a closer look is taken at the economic development section of his proposal. The key element in the Nixon plan limits the Indians who obtain land to the use of it **solely for pre-industrial use**, e.g., hunting, fishing etc. Industrial development of the land, such as drilling for oil—to use a convenient example—is reserved for the giant corporations. The Indians can live on the land but they would have to work for the corporate interests who would own the industry and reap the profits.

Take the case of the 46,000 acres of Taos land. Under the terms of the Senate bill it would become a wilderness area, held in trust for the Indians by the Department of the Interior. It would be sacred land for the Indians who could use it for hardly more than religious purposes, hunting, fishing and forage for their own personal use. Title would not be conveyed to the Indians.

The Forest Service is not too happy with this arrangement, however. They would prefer passage of Senator Clinton Anderson's bill which would give the Indians about 1,500 acres for religious purposes and allow the Forest Service to continue to lease land for

timbering and grazing as well as recreational activities.

At this point it isn't too clear exactly which bill will be passed. But if the recent experience of the Alaskan Indians in the legislative field is any indication, the Taos Indians will never see the 46,000 acres.

The Senate passed a bill which would set up two corporations to deal with the problems of the Alaskan Indians. One would be an investment corporation and one would provide social services. The Indians would get 2 percent of the income from oil and mineral leases and production. Also, each Indian village would be given approximately 5,000 acres of land. This comes out to 10 million acres of land, which is a tidy chunk of land.

However, several million acres of this land would not be titled to the Indians. About two-and-a-half million acres would be held under what is known as "surface estate." The Indians would get to use it but not to own it. The 500,000 acres of land the Indians would get on the fabulously oil-rich North Slope of Alaska, for example, would be held as "surface estate."

In the long run, what all of this will mean, if big business has its way, is a re-play of what is happening in Indian Township, Maine, where the Indians work on the land, while the corporations make all the money.

There, too, the Indians had proven so-called "aboriginal title" to land which was being logged by Georgia-Pacific. Since the Indians don't have the capital to operate their land they can't do the lumbering, drilling or mining themselves. Nor will the extra \$50 million the President hopes to provide them change this situation.

So the company and the Indians made a deal: the company gets to keep logging and the Indians get to do the work!

With the Indian unemployment rate on the reservations at an estimated 80 percent, it all looks like a dream for some large corporations. But the best part of all this is that from now on the Indians won't have a legal leg to stand on when it comes to the hundreds of millions of acres in this country which as late as a century ago were still theirs under U.S. law.

It isn't any wonder that Lehman L. Brightman, president of the United Native Americans, says of events in the Americas since 1620: "We Indian people would be better off today if Plymouth Rock had landed on the Pilgrims, instead of the Pilgrims landing on Plymouth Rock."

POETRY

Cuba: moving out of a dream

EVERYONE COMES TO A LIGHTED HOUSE

Last night I had a dream in which
with my own hands I picked up fat fresh mushrooms
and sliced them into a frying pan.
I watched them shrink and brown
and tasted the delicate meat drippings, fat, and the thin browned
mushroom slices
together in gravy.
My dream.
The first one, the first moment I've had
in which mushrooms didn't feel terror in my body.
In the same dream there was a funeral parlor, dark hallways, a family,
prominently a son. Showing us the way.
High fences at night.
Gates in the fences, made of the same wire.
Gregory, Sarah, Ximena, Anna, Robert and I
walking as fast as we could, not running but walking
through the gates, from gate to gate, along the fences, through the night
away from the funeral parlor towards
a lighted house.
The faint smell of the mushroom gravy brought us to the kitchen.
I have been three months in Cuba
from the year of decisive effort to the year of ten million tons,
from effort to sugar,
economy,
people moving together and if you don't move you're out, away,
somewhere else.
Fidel's "Within the Revolution everything; outside the Revolution nothing"
Isn't the private property of intellectuals.
It's just like breathing.
Everyone comes to the party.
Imperial humor dried up, lost: "What if they gave a war and no one came?"
Just in always being very simple, my Vietnamese friend who said
"Before the Americans it was the French for 100 years and before that
the Chinese for a thousand. And now the Americans. We know what
slavery is."
Very simple and all the time,
people moving together.
I'm moving.
I look at the worried letter from my friend in the States. I try to read it.
But I'm moving
Out of my dream.

MARGARET RANDALL, Havana



Credit Barbara Rothkrug/LNS

'People moving together and if you don't move you're out . . .'

THEATER

Bolivian theater continues the Indian-Inca heritage

CHILE

When Europeans first reached American shores they found a variety of native civilizations. One highly developed one was the Incan empire centered in what is now Peru.

In 1500 before the conquest the area of the Incan empire held a population of about ten million; by 1781 centuries of slavery and forced labor had literally decimated the Incan people. They were reduced to one million.

Today, throughout Latin America the Indians remain the most exploited and oppressed section of the population. They retain their own languages, cultures, and communities. One of the main Indian groupings is the Quechua,



Quechua Indians preserve a heritage

who are directly descended from the Incas.

In the interests of acquainting our readers with what is in North America a little known facet of Latin American civilization we present the following article by Isidora Aguirre on Indian theater in Latin America. It first appeared in the Cuban magazine *Conjunto*.

—G. E.

VERONICA Cereceda and her husband Gabriel recently returned from living in an Indian community in the Bolivian highlands to Chile.

Previously the Cerecedas directed and acted in the University Theater in Concepcion and there created the popular dramatic production "El Caleuche."

Veronica is also a playwright and professor of theater.

They agreed to work on the theatrical staff of the University of Oruro in Bolivia recently, and decided to attempt the creation of an indigenous theater in the Quechua Indian language. On the one hand they felt that the Indians have not yet expressed themselves as such in South America and on the other that Quechua is the dominant language, even if unofficially, in the Bolivian highlands and the Peruvian valleys.

The group, which also had three Bolivians, decided after an intensive search to root themselves in the comunidad, the basic organizational structure of the Indians of Lunlaya.

Together with seeking a way to present plays, they have begun to learn how to write Quechua in order to be able to study it further and so as to be able to write their first work. Quechua itself has been maintained by oral tradition among the Indians, who are illiterate.

They took their material from the same community, forging the theme

from endless conversations with older Indians, continually asking them questions about their beliefs and traditions.

"Until today," said Veronica, "the Indians existed in Bolivian culture only by way of exterior forms, by way of certain typical folk characteristics as decorations."

"Ukhu Ukhumanta (which means From Within, Deep Within) is an attempt to penetrate into the soul of the Indians, to bring to light their myths, dreams and rituals, that express a vision of the world, captured in all its profundity."

THE FIRST PART of the play puts on the stage a few dreams which we chose from a group of over 200 dreams we had collected. The second part is the living representation of a myth by means of ancient rituals.

The actors, 12 in all, were all Indians from the community, whose ages were between 18 and 65 years. They themselves created all the music for the show (absolutely everyone in the community are musicians, all playing various wind instruments such as the "zampuna," "quena," or "mohoseno" or percussion instruments such as the "wuncare," the traditional Inca instruments.)

Up until this time the Indians, in order to defend themselves against the whites, had preserved their culture without varying its forms, but now, with this theater, they have been trying to create variations, such as do not deform traditions, but rather enrich them.

The Indians retain a view, despite centuries of pressure on them from European culture, of the integrity of personality and its living and direct relations to nature and the cosmos.

"Our interest is in seeking out these elements that can lead us back to this that we have lost," she says.

The play is presented in the form of

an old ritual. These rituals arise from the depths of the subconscious and bridge all differences of culture and consciousness penetrating even the emotions of the white spectator because they arise from myths that anyone can appreciate.

Mrs. Cereceda explains that all of the theatrical work so far is nothing more than a search, an initial experience whose results are not predictable.

The Cerecedas have only been in the community since June 1967. Nevertheless, the theater has already made several important contributions to the life of the community. The people have begun to develop pride in their own culture and recover the dignity as an ethnic grouping and as human beings.

FOR THE first time in centuries they have created something in which no whites intervened, except as aides in the process of putting forward something which was already theirs.

In the fire of the theatrical experience the ties between us and within the comunidad also were strengthened, which led the people even more strongly to seek collective solutions to their problems.

The people have begun to regain faith in themselves, and to recover the richness of a culture and of an idiom of great artistic excellence as seen in its songs and popular poetry which had no other ways of developing in Bolivia.

There are no Quechua books, schools or magazines, and the culture was becoming impoverished in terms of drama and art.

Together with the rescue of the language and the artistic expression of a people, were also a vision of the world and a philosophical attitude which have survived more than a thousand years.

ISIDORA AGUIRRE
—CONJUNTO

Population problems key Fidel's 26th of July speech

SAN FRANCISCO — Fidel Castro's 26th of July speech marked the end of an era for the Cuban revolution.

But it can't be read as a summing up of the achievements of the last 11 years. Its thrust was critical, and it launched a nation wide campaign of re-examination and self-criticism.

Far from being a speech of despair, as it has been painted in the U. S. press, it is a speech of mobilization.

By laying out in unprecedented frankness the areas of weakness in the economy and political organization of the Cuban revolution, Castro in effect declared that the tough road out of underdevelopment must be charted much more in the future by the active involvement of the people, and in his own emphasis, by the factory workers.

This week and next we will publish extensive excerpts of the speech.

"Guests and comrade workers, today we are not going to make a commemorative speech. That is, we are not going to recall achievements and successes scored by the Revolution. Neither are we going to recall past heroic events.

"It is not with words but with action and work that one pays tribute to those who have given their all.

"Neither are we going to deal today with problems of an international nature— about which we could and would like to say a great deal.

Today we are going to talk about our problems and difficulties, (APPLAUSE) our setbacks rather than our successes, and we would like to make a series of analyses, even though we realize that a forum of this type is hardly the ideal place for either cold analysis or figures.

So that you will better understand what I am going to explain, I would like to give you some data.

"In 1958, on the eve of the triumph of the Revolution, Cuba's population was 6,547,000. In 1970 it is estimated that the population will reach a figure of approximately 8,256,000. Our

population has increased.

"Our population has registered an increase of 1,709,000 of whom 844,000 are minors under working age and 188,000 are men and women over working age.

"Out of that 1,709,000 there are 1,022,000—that is, 60%—who are either under 17 or over working age — women over 55 and men over 60. In other words, 60% who do not participate in production.

"Not counting those who are studying or are physically or socially disabled, the net increase in labor resources in these last 12 years has been 580,000.

"On the other hand, the needs of the economy for its new economic and social activities and the replacement of those who have reached retirement age call for 1,200,000 people.

MANPOWER NEEDS

"What with our new labor resources and the number of unemployed that existed before the Revolution, we have been partly — only partly — able to meet our growing manpower needs.

"Therefore, our problem in connection with manpower and the makeup of the population will continue to worsen in the next five years and will only begin to improve toward the end of the decade, close to 1980.

"It is estimated that the population increase between 1975 and 1980 will be 828,000. The increase in those under working age will be 160,000, the increase in those over working age will be 121,000, the increase in those of working age will be 550,000 and the net increase in our labor resources between 1975 and 1980 will be 535,000.

"Now, then, this population makeup—this happens not only in our country but also in other countries that have experienced a population explosion, which means almost all of the underdeveloped countries — means that only 32% of the population is engaged in activities related to our economy.

"That is, less than a third of the population is engaged in furnishing goods or services. And that third includes those who are furnishing services that constitute investments for the future, such as public health services



Fidel Castro

and education, and those engaged in services that are absolutely necessary to the defense of the Revolution and the homeland."

Castro then went through the list of social services the Cuban economy now supports, not to show the progress of the Cuban revolution, but to demonstrate how heavy a load the poor and still largely underdeveloped Cuban economy must support.

Some sample figures: "outlay for social security, public health and education — three sectors — which was \$213.8 million in 1958, amounts to no less than \$850 million in 1970. If we add the outlay for defense to these three sectors the total comes close to

\$1,200 million a year."

Dwelling then on education, Castro said,

"I believe that anyone can understand the significance that the solution or our failure to solve this problem has for this country I believe that anyone can understand what a country will become or not become if it solves or fails to solve the problem of education.

"And the problem has to be solved in the conditions that I have explained to you, and all those resources have to be obtained from a population whose age makeup is worsening, with 32% — a percentage that will not grow in the near future — of the population producing all the

resources.

"By way of comparison, suffice it to say that the industrialized nations of Europe, including the socialist countries, with incomparably higher labor productivity, with much greater development of their productive forces, employ, or employed in the decade just past, approximately 45% of their total population.

"We are employing and will have to employ — not only for providing for all of our unsatisfied needs, not only for our increasing needs — only 32% of the population.

"And, as we succeed in employing more women, more and more needs in the form of day care centers, schools, semiboarding schools and the like will arise.

"The increase in the number of retired workers, free educational services and medical care and the essential services of the nation's defense, together with the savings in connection with home and land rentals, have caused the amount of money and savings accounts in the hands of the people to shoot up to 3,000 million pesos.

RUTHLESS SACRIFICE

"A price policy to compensate for this imbalance — this will help us and also those abroad who are interested in such things to understand the reason for rationing — would have been nothing short of a ruthless sacrifice of those sectors of the population with the least income. This

is quite plain: a price policy aimed at evening up the total amount of goods and services that the people have to purchase — the things that are distributed free of charge are not taken into consideration in this — on the one hand and money, on the other, would have been nothing less than a ruthless sacrifice of that part of the population with the lowest income.

"That policy could be employed in connection with luxury and non-essential goods and services, but never for necessities. This is how we feel about this problem, and we believe that the people feel the same way. (APPLAUSE).

FAR TO GO

"Devaluation — or rather, the exchange of the currency which was done in the early years — is a correct measure when applied against the bourgeois, but it would be despicable if enacted against the workers' savings. (APPLAUSE). This is how we feel about it and we believe the people feel the same way."

Castro then said he didn't believe there was any Cuban who doubted the need to make these investments in health, education and defense, making the point that though progress here has been great, there is still very far to go.

"It is true that, just like our students, they (the men in the army) take part in tasks of production in critical periods — that is in periods of peak power demands in the countryside, as during the sugar harvest — but it is also true that to the extent that our technological and high school students have spent long months cutting cane, we'll have to wait more years to have the technicians we need so urgently."

(To be concluded next week.)

'Land to the landless' convulses India

NEW DELHI — A gigantic, nation wide struggle for land is taking place in India, organized and led by the Communist party of India (CPI).

More than 15,000 acres of unused government and private monopolists land have been occupied by landless peasants and agricultural laborers.

The campaign is aimed at forcing the rich landlords—many of them, like Birla, the major capitalists of India—to give up their surplus lands, land over and above the ownership ceilings laid down by the government.

State governments, landlords and usurers hold enough land to distribute to the 30 million landless peasants in India.

Since the struggle was launched, the CPI has been joined by the Communist party of India (Marxist), the Praja Socialist party and the Samytka Socialist party.

The only state not affected by the campaign is Kerala in the

south, where the coalition government led by the CPI has already begun a determined land distribution campaign.

The government has tried to strike back by arresting more than 20,000 people, including S. A. Dange, chairman of the CPI National Council, and more than 5,000 other Communists.

Police seized the 70 year old party leader and six others as they shouted slogans against the repression visited by the Uttar Pradesh state government against the land seizure movement.

Bupesh Gupta, the secretary of the CPI, was also arrested as he and 100 other Communists tried to occupy land owned by the giant Birla industrial monopoly in the central state of Madhya Pradesh.

But this repression has not stopped the movement.

India's Premier Indira Gandhi has criticized the CPI led land struggle but said this past week-

end, "Some people in India have got too much land while some have none at all. This state of affairs can in no way be called justice."

The kick off date of the "Land Struggle Campaign" was set for July 1 in a joint statement issued on May 15 by C. Rajeswara Rao, CPI general secretary; Bhowani Son, president of the All-India Kisan Sabha (Peasants' Council); and Khadagdhari Misra, president of the Bharatiya Khet Maxdoor (Indian Farm Workers) Union.

CPI general secretary Rao explained that the situation in India was ripe for mass popular enforcement of land reform laws already passed by India's parliament but never enforced.

But the movement led by the CPI not only includes occupation of land by the landless. Rao indicated. He said it also include organizing small land holders to resist growing attempts by moneylenders and landlords forcibly

to evict them, and the organization of Indian tribal people to re-occupy lands illegally seized from them by landlords in defiance of the law.

The statement issued by the CPI national council May 8-13 on the land struggle campaign said:

"In each state we should select areas where the tenants are concentrated, organize militant mass resistance to evictions and start implementation of the present legal provisions regarding rent and other provisions in favor of the tenants.

"We should in actual practice concentrate on the big landlords holding hundreds and thousands of acres.

"This movement will help to galvanize the political atmosphere of our country. All party leaders, except for those set apart to coordinate the movement, should be at the head of the movement."

Irish women: 'Out of their isolation'

By JUDY BASTON

BELFAST — Hundreds of cupboards were bare on the weekend of July 4 when the British army declared a curfew in the Catholic working class Falls Road area.

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WHAT'S ON

LOS ANGELES

DOROTHY HEALEY Telephone Program, 6:30 p.m. every Wednesday evening, Radio Station KPFK.

JOIN US and celebrate the 50th birthdays of Max and Paula Steinberg. Nov. 7, 1970, 12:30 p.m. Luncheon at Tarr Frer Restaurant, 1911 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles.

A DELIGHTFUL afternoon, Homecoming reception for Angelo Bertolini. Sunday, Aug. 30 from 2 to 5 p.m. Hungarian Center Patio (beautiful outdoors patio, 1251 S. St. Andrews Place, Angelo will tell us of his nine week tour of Europe, especially of his long stay in Italy. Refreshments will be served. Admission \$1.00. Auspices: Echo Park Friends of Angelo.

PLEASE HOLD the date for the 20th annual banquet Sunday, Dec. 6th, 1970 — 2 p.m. at the Biltmore Hotel Biltmore Bowl, 515 N. Olive St., L. A. For reservations call: MADISON 5-2169. Sponsored by the L. A. Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights.

SPECIAL ITALIAN DINNER, Sunday, Sept. 13th, 2 to 6 p.m. Old timers will recognize the aromas coming from the pots of Chef Tony — also known as Jack. The younger crowd is in for a surprise. Singing with Wally Hill. Also garage sale, in the back yard of Jack Rosales, 711 N. Dillon, near Silverlake and Bellevue, NO 1-3989. All this for \$1.50, children and grandchildren, \$1.00.

SAN FRANCISCO

RUMMAGE — wanted for East Bay sale, Aug. 30. Benefit PW. Call 654-3499 for pickup.

UNIQUE BOUTIQUE—Sun., Aug. 23, 1-6 p.m., 1232 Willard, featuring hand crocheted vests and ponchos colorful plastics and refreshments. PW benefit.

RUMMAGE SALE, Sunday, Aug. 30th, 9:15-4:15 1924 San Pablo Ave., Berkeley. Bring yourselves and your rummage.

NEW YORK

FANTASTIC BUY at Jefferson Book Shop, 100 East 16th St., New York, N. Y. 10003: Autobiography of La Pasionara — "They Shall Not Pass." 350 pages, cloth bound. List \$5.95 — on sale at \$1.00 plus 25c postage, handling. Catalogue of sale items on request.

WANT ADS

CEMETERY LOT for sale, Walnut Creek. For information call The People's World business manager.

SAN FRANCISCO

WANTED: HELP! Voluntary, to work on cleaning, sorting, wrapping etc., at the PW office, 81 Clementina St., Call EX 2-1602.

NEEDED: Vendors to sell the People's World. Sell the paper for 15c, you keep six cents. Call EX-1602 and ask for Neil

BABY BLUE 1955 Cadillac for sale... stereo radio, seats that go up and down, a motor that purrs. \$400 or best offer. Benefit PW. Call EX 2-1602.

DESPERATE! Need work. Gardening, landscaping, janitor, painting, gen. labor. San Jose-Santa Clara area. Phone Ron at 253-9807.

So on Sunday, July 5, after the curfew had kept people virtually imprisoned in their homes for two days, an unprecedented march took place in the Falls Road area.

After a Sunday morning mass, some 500 women marched through army lines to buy provisions and back through the cordon to feed their hungry families.

Later that afternoon, after word had been spread of the morning's march, some 3,500 women, wheeling prams and carrying babies in their arms, walked through the military cordon singing "We Shall Overcome."

A BREAKTHROUGH

This demonstration, which was tremendously impressive to all who saw it, reflects a significant breakthrough in the role Irish women are playing in the northern struggle for civil rights and independence.

The new emergence of women as activists in these battles is found particularly in the civil rights movement, and to a growing degree, in the official section of the Republican movement.

And this participation is emerging out of a framework

that, on many levels, acted to help convince Irish women their place was **only** in the home and never on the political battlefield, where it be parliamentary or military.

Although it is the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland that is the immediate target of such repression as the Special Powers Act, and its attendant brutalization at the hands of B-Specials and the British army, Catholic women are at a disadvantage in fighting this repression.

MOTHER CULT

Because of the Catholic prescription against birth control, there are large families. Any woman tied to full time care of many children often finds it impossible to have any energy left for political struggle.

And this has been legitimized by what Elizabeth Coxhead in her book, "Daughters of Erin," calls "The often excessive mother cult of which they are the object" which "gives them at best a backstairs influence."

However, it was the family — and the effect of the curfew — on hungry, cross probably fighting children — that finally spur-

red the women to march, which indicates that even in what has basically been a repressive institution there were the initial steps of rebellion. For further steps, perhaps, other forms of organization must be sought.

The isolation of the home — as opposed to the collective framework of the factory or shipyard — also is more prone to breed religious sectarianism.

While men and women who work are also told that either Catholics or Protestants are the chief enemy, through their experiences they discover some other joint interest with workers of other religions. The commonality of struggle isn't available to most housewives.

IRA CHANGING

A woman factory worker I met on my first day in Belfast corroborated this view when she stopped to talk to me on the street. "Isn't it silly," she said of the sectarian battles, "because, after all, it's just the working people — both kinds — who suffer."

Lastly there has been the reluctance of some movements in Northern Ireland to deal thoroughly with women's role. For example, the Irish Republican Army, for years one of the chief opponents of British imperialism and the repression that has been its result, was organized almost solely as a military organization — for men — and gave little attention to the role women could play.

Betty Sinclair, secretary of the Belfast Trades Council, recalls that during the campaign of arrests against the IRA and "suspected" members from 1956-1962, she tried to get some of the arrestees' wives to organize a women's committee to demand their husbands' release but she was unsuccessful. Reason for that, she thinks, was the "traditional concept of Irish women not being involved in politics."

From what I saw, however, of the official section of the Republican movement in Belfast, this is indeed beginning to change.

Women are on the councils of Sinn Fein, the movement's electoral area. And women, especially young women, are active in some of the Republican clubs, which have a perspective of community organizing and education, as well as military defense.

One Republican activist told me proudly that they had been reading the works of early Irish socialist William Thompson, and that he was an especially fierce foe of male chauvinism.

The occupation of Belfast by British troops — and the Republican-organized resistance to it

— places another direct responsibility on Irish women.

COMMUNITY CAMPAIGN

A "don't fraternize" campaign aimed at making the stay of the invading army as unpleasant as possible, is directed especially at the young Catholic girls in the Falls Road area.

Signs and other propaganda against fraternizing with the "professionals" aim to counter the appeal of the young soldiers, who tell these girls they are "just doing their jobs" and often appear to break the monotony of a young girl's life in Belfast.

On occasion, girls caught with British soldiers have been dealt with by their community in the ways used by the anti-Nazi underground movements during World War II.

Wigs are cheap nowadays but close friends and family can still detect a shaved head — and know what it means.

In the civil rights movement, particularly the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Assn., many women are active. Their secretary is Edwina Stewart, a teacher and a Communist in Belfast.

Mrs. Stewart said she had never been ignored, or come in for special criticism in this movement simply because she was a woman.

"Of course, people call me a silly bitch sometimes, if they disagree with me," she smiled. "But if I were a man, they'd be calling me something along the same lines, with just one or two words changed."

BERNADETTE'S EXAMPLE

And the example of Bernadette Devlin, the 22 year old member of Parliament who is currently in jail as a result of her activities for northern rights, is serving as an example to many of just how much women activists can do.

There is a growing understanding among people in motion in Northern Ireland that the struggles for civil rights and freedom will never be won if half the forces who can wage them are kept idle by the myth of non-involvement.

One of the most heartening things about anti-sectarian groups in Ulster is their understanding of the need to work together and the realization that establishment of strategic priorities lessens, rather than increases, rivalries between organizations.

Out of this understanding flows a perspective for involving as many people as possible in the struggle.

And every day this perspective becomes more and more incompatible with the "traditional view" of the inactive Irish women.

Moratorium leaders charge U.S. genocide

(Continued from Page One)

outside the state including delegations from Chicago, Kansas City and the Southwest, is expected to number in the tens of thousands.

In fact it seems likely that the moratorium may well be the largest political gathering of Mexican Americans and Latinos since the annexation of California 120 years ago.

If past performance is any indication, the moratorium committee may well bring it off.

The last demonstration sponsored by the committee brought 5,000 people out into a cold driving rain in February to march through the East Los Angeles barrio, and that with hardly any attention or publicity by the news media. The organizational resources of the committee have multiplied since then.

It all started with a draft notice.

Moratorium organizer Rosalio Munoz received his greetings from the President of the United States Sept. 5, 1969, and decided to do something about it.

"I wanted to resist in a political way," said Munoz. "But I didn't want to do it in any of the traditional ways. It seemed to me that most draft resisters were reacting in an individualistic way. I wanted to build a movement against the war in the Chicano community."

At the time, Munoz, a college graduate, held the post of assistant director of admissions at Claremont Center of Educational Opportunities, earning \$11,500 per year.

All that was behind him a few months later.

On Sept. 16, 1969 (Mexican Independence Day) Munoz reported to the induction center with a few hundred demonstrators to back him up.

After reading a prepared statement to the rally, accusing the U. S. of genocide, Munoz went into the draft headquar-

ters to discover his induction was postponed by order of the state director of selective service.

In a subsequent hearing before the draft board Oct. 20, Munoz spoke in Spanish to the board members, who had to call in an interpreter.

Although he speaks English, Munoz refused to do so before the board, and in Spanish told them why he felt they had no right to draft him or any other Chicano.

The organization launched by Munoz' draft notice evolved into the Chicano Moratorium Committee, set up to work within the unique problems of the barrio residents.

Another of the committee's organizers, Ramon Noriega, said, "The heart of our philosophy is that the U. S. is committing genocide against our people. We do not seek peace — we want to bring the war home to the U.S."

Noriega was critical of the predominantly white, middle class sectors of the peace movement. "The anti-war movement in the U. S. had interests not truthful to our cause. Very few of the white peace groups had interests to survive the issues."

"We're taking this on as a lifelong job."

The moratorium was being used as a vehicle to get the genocide issue known. Munoz said, "Our people are dying both in Vietnam and at the hands of the police back home."

"The genocide is three part. First, people are actually dying, both in Vietnam and at home by the police. Second, imprisoned people are unable to exercise their humanity while they're alive."

"Third, workers are oppressed — both farm and urban poor — by systems of education, welfare, police state, racism. We are organizing to fight genocide on all fronts."

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Reagan comes under fire on welfare

(Continued from Page One)
to be closed to past and potential welfare recipients forcing the women back onto welfare as the cost of private care is prohibitive.

Martin, a Reagan appointee, made the ruling after the Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare in Washington told them the state had to provide equal services throughout the state when federal money was involved.

Under pressure from the mothers who gathered petitions, wrote letters, threatened to file a lawsuit and demonstrated at the city's welfare office, HEW has now agreed to allow the state to continue county option, or, in essence, violate federal regulations.

Under this plan — which the original HEW ruling upset — counties are allowed to decide whether or not to provide services to past and potential welfare recipients.

Currently only four counties — San Francisco, Los Angeles, Alameda and Yolo (Sacramento) — have day care centers for poor working mothers.

The agreement is only temporary, though, and the mothers demanded to know if it was going to be rescinded in December.

Their fear, they said, is that if Reagan wins the November election, he will have a free hand to attack welfare programs again.

The Nixon administration was forced, this week, to begin an investigation into possible violations of law by the Reagan administration in regards to welfare.

Last year, after much demonstrating and threatened litigation, California was ordered by Congress to raise the maximum grants recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children to bring them in line with cost of living raises.

LIVING COSTS

The grants have remained stationary since 1957 while the cost of living has gone up 35% since then.

The state was supposed to institute the raises by July, 1969. If it doesn't now, the federal government is required by law to

withdraw its welfare money — about \$1 billion. Chaos and destruction of welfare programs would result.

The hearings, called for Aug. 25, were to investigate what HEW termed California's "non-compliance" with sections of the Social Security Act.

There were other issues at stake in the compliance hearings but the AFDC grants is the most critical in the view of welfare organizations.

The hearings on noncompliance are only the second in 20 years that the federal government has held. The first were two weeks ago when Native American groups and NWRO hauled Arizona in for denying Indians full welfare protection.

Hearing officer J. Andrew Brooks overruled the HEW-state objection and allowed the oral testimony of the recipients.

The full story of what California's noncompliance or refusal to raise AFDC grants meant was then revealed.

FIGHTING TIME

In human terms, people are starving, children cannot attend

school and are suffering from brain damage caused by malnutrition.

The welfare recipients are fighting time. Already California has delayed over a year in instituting the raises.

A family of four, mother and three children, the average size of an AFDC family, gets only \$221 a month.

This comes to \$2,652 a year while the poverty line is \$3,600 and the Bureau of Labor's "bare bones" budget is \$6,700.

Mrs. Lucille Walton, a San

Francisco grandmother on AFDC, with three boys, laid out what it means to live on \$221.

She is allotted \$70 for food which means "we eat spaghetti and a whole lot of beans."

Brooks' recommendation, which is expected to charge the state with noncompliance, probably won't be issued before November.

The possibility of California being charged with violation of federal law is so strong that the state refused to present any defense during the hearings.

Protests rise over treatment of Angela Davis

LOS ANGELES — Reaction grows to the attempts by law enforcement authorities and the press to try, convict and execute Angela Davis without a trial.

Concerned observers this week expressed fear for her life at the hands of police, who have been given a license to kill since the Federal Bureau of Investigation described her as "armed and extremely dangerous" when they put her on their "ten most wanted" list.

The Los Angeles Sentinel, the largest black community newspaper here, charged in its lead editorial that Miss Davis was being "convicted by the news media."

The Sentinel blasted the media for choosing "the kind of news stories that crucify the accused without giving him or her their promised day in court."

The Los Angeles Free Press, in a banner headline story, accused the news media of "actively abetting a witch hunt" against Miss Davis.

The Free Press charged the same "parody of due process which has characterized the handling of the Soledad Brothers case," and "drove Jonathan

Jackson into his desperate attempt in San Rafael," is at work in Angela Davis' case.

Meanwhile last week, reporters pressed Franklin Alexander, chairman of the Che-Lumumba club of the Communist party, for what he would say to Angela Davis if she called him.

"I love you, baby," Alexander said.



ANGELA DAVIS
loved.

Salinas strike solid from start

(Continued from Page 1)
ion combination on the other.

"We gave the Bishop's Committee a vote of confidence and the growers and Teamsters the time they needed," UFWOC vice president Dolores Huerta told 4,000 workers at a Hartnell College rally Sunday.

"We gave them another four days. Those four days are up today," she said.

Ranch by ranch, the workers voted to strike. The vote was unanimous. Its outcome was never in doubt, even before the rally started.

Farm workers, who thought they had broken the Teamster-grower sweetheart contracts a few weeks ago, clearly were only waiting for the word to strike.

They got it Sunday and the vote came on the strike recommendation of every ranch committee.

"The growers don't know what they're getting into," one UFWOC organizer said. "You'd think they'd be smarter."

The colorful and high-spirited rally heard Mrs. Huerta read a personal message to the workers from UFWOC Director Cesar Chavez, who is recovering from the ill effects of his second fast in three years.

His message said farm workers are "entering a just and necessary struggle. Where injustice prevails, no honest man can be rich. Where there is justice he can never be in need of anything."

But, he added, "Life is impossible for an honest man where injustice is the order of the day. A new order of things is replacing the old in agriculture. It can be replaced peacefully with the consent of the employers or it can be preceded

by some painful means."

"Growers," he added, "do not rule by the right of love but by the force of fear."

The Salinas Valley battle began at the same time UFWOC won its five year Delano grape strike. The Teamsters moved in and signed sweetheart contracts with growers immediately after Chavez informed growers UFWOC represented most valley workers.

For a while, it appeared as if the dispute had been compromised, with the Teamsters getting shed and freezing plant workers and UFWOC maintaining its jurisdiction over field workers.

"We asked for elections three weeks ago," but were turned down, Mrs. Huerta said. "Tomorrow (Monday) we will vote with our feet for union representation and union contracts."

'Lucharemos Hasta La Ultima Batalla Del Pueblo'

(Continued from page 1)

mandatos. Como el pueblo de Vietnam tambien luchamos para reconquistar todo lo nuestro y con nuestro espiritu indomable seguiremos hasta alcanzar aquello que mas anhelamos, nuestra integridad nacional.

La derrota de los Estados Unidos en Vietnam ya es uno hecho. Solo falta la terminacion de la guerra y la inutil matanza de nuestros jovenes. Le derrota traera una gran victoria, no solo para el pueblo Vietnamita, si no para todas las fuerzas democraticas del mundo.

Los gigantes recursos que ahora se gastan en el inutil enfuerzo guerrero con el fin de destruir a un humilde pueblo deben de utilizarse con mejores fines.

Debemos exigir que se cambie la direccion politica y economica y que estos recursos economicos sean empleados para el bien comun del pueblo y para el mejoramiento de la humanidad.

LA RAZA UNIDA Y LA JUSTICIA SOCIAL

El otro objetivo es la justicia social y La Raza Unida que se entro laza en una trayectoria historica que no hay que perder de vista. Por mas grande que sea la derrota del imperialismo en Vietnam esto no quiero decir que el poderoso fenomeno vaya a morir.

De lo contrario conforme se agudescan sus problemas nacionales e internacional mas feroces seran

sus actitudes y sus insaciables apetitos por mas y superiores ganancias financieras lo haran nada mas rapaz. Cuando esto sucede tendra que venir el encuentro de todo el mundo que ayudara en la victoria de Vietnam y el imperialismo que luchara con ferocidad para conservar lo que todavia le queda bajo su dominio, y la victoria o la derrota de la lucha por la justicia social dependera del exito que tenga una Raza verdaderamente unida.

El concepto de La Raza Unida tuvo su origen hace mucho tiempo. Ultimamente sin embargo se ha destacado la idea como partido politico de bido a las frustraciones que hemos sufrido con los principales partidos politicos, Demócratas y Republicanos, que son solo dos agrupaciones politicas que luchane por el poder con la misma bandera imperialista.

Los Demócratas nos consideran suyos y dicen que nos tienen en el bolsillo y por eso nunca han hecho ni haran nada para ayudarnos. Por otro lado los Republicanos nos consideran de los Demócratas y por lo tanto indignos de ayudar.

Con un partido notamente nuestro podemos seleccionar independientemente a candidatos y programas que mejor nos convengan. Podemos apoyar a aquellos que realmente nos representen y que aboguen por nuestras legitimas aspiraciones o intereses.

EL SOCIALISMO EL OBJETIVO

FUNDAMENTAL

Como ya hemos dicho, esta manifestacion y todos los finos o ideales que la inspiran, cuenta con nuestro completo apoyo y nuestro unico deseo es su exito total en todo su programa. Nuestra humilde aportacion es nuestra participacion en las filas junto con nuestro pueblo.

Al mismo tiempo queremos decir que seriamos unos idealistas o quiza hipocritas si pretendieramos creer que la manifestacion y su programa logre solucionar los problemas insicos de nuestro pueblo y de la humanidad en general. Esta problema, no obstante sus deversas manifestaciones, tiene come base fundamental la carencia por nuestra parte de bienes y recursos que son los que hacen la vida próspera y feliz.

Este problema se encuentra en la organizacion de las fuentes de produccion y distribucion. Estas se encuentran acumuladas por los capitales privados y mientras esas riquezas pertenescan al capital privado seran ellos los que rijan nuestros destinos.

Cabe entonces a nosotros luchar por una sociedad mejor donde la riqueza sea para el bien comun. Por un estado Socialista. Hay que luchar hasta que el pueblo en su ultima batalla historica, como lo hizo Cuba, logre rescatar para su propio beneficio todas las riquezas. Solo asi podremos acabar con la pobreza.